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ABSTRACT

During a 3-week seminar in July 1973 at Aspen, Colorado designed to discuss the erosion of public support for higher education, presentations fell into the following categories: historical perspectives; access, higher education and employment; autonomy and systems; the professoriate; and research on higher education. Presentations included in this report discuss: the relation of higher education to society; access to higher education in Germany; access and public support; reflections on the relations between the occupational structure and higher educational systems; institutional autonomy and academic freedom; university autonomy, accountability and planning; the rise of educational systems; systems of higher education; the changing status of the Western European professoriate; the prestigious Eastern European professor; the American professor and the public; comparative research on higher education; and suggested future approaches to research on higher education. (MJM)

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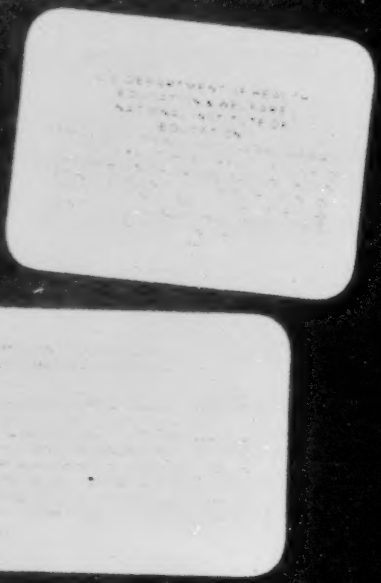
An International Perspective

Higher Education: Crisis and Support



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An International Perspective

Higher Education: Crisis and Support

Papers by:

James A. Perkins
Hellmut Becker
Ernest L. Boyer
R. Freeman Butts
Burton R. Clark
Zelman Cowen
Torsten Husén
Henri Janne
Alex Kwapong
Jan Szczepanski
Martin Trow

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Authors

James A. Perkins, Chairman, International Council for Educational Development, New York

Hellmut Becker, Director, Max-Planck Institute, Berlin

Ernest L. Boyer, Chancellor, State University of New York

R. Freeman Butts, Associate Dean for International Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University

Burton R. Clark, Professor of Sociology, Yale University

Zelman Cowen, Vice-Chancellor, University of Queensland, Australia

Torsten Husén, Director, Institute of International Education, Stockholm

Henri Janne, Président, Collège Scientifique, Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels

Alex Kwapong, Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana

Jan Szczepanski, Professor of Sociology and Vice-Chairman, Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Martin Trow, Professor of Sociology, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California (Berkeley)

Foreword

The erosion of public support for higher education is a worldwide phenomenon and therefore suggests an international perspective. An attempt to view the problem in this perspective was made during a three-week seminar in July 1973 at Aspen, Colorado, held under the joint sponsorship of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies and the International Council for Educational Development. Twelve persons concerned with higher education were drawn from eight countries to explore ways in which higher education in general, and more specifically the university, must respond to the present crises of organization, relevance and finance if sufficient public support is to be provided.

The seminar members met five days a week for each of the three weeks. At each session two members made original presentations on a specific topic that had been previously identified as an issue of public concern. Broadly the topics fell into these categories: historical perspective; access, higher education and employment; autonomy and systems; the professoriate; and research on higher education. A selection of the papers which clearly define these issues is included in this ICED Conference Papers report.

Perhaps an introductory word is in order about the limits and advantages of seeking an international perspective on educational problems. For a long time we have studied different educational institutions and systems without any qualms about comparing differences and similarities. We have not been content merely to describe the three-tier system of coordination of California and then to describe the single-tier system of New York State. We have certainly not assumed that New York educational leaders do not need to know about problems in California and vice versa.

But the fact is that educators are hard learners. For a whole variety of reasons, institutional autonomy and individuality have seemed more important than common problems and common interests. But this insularity is breaking down as scholars and investigators are looking at higher education on a national canvas and governments are insisting on the allocation of funds based on system needs rather than on individual needs.

What has come to be taken for granted *within* national societies now begins to have meaning *between* societies. Although there is no federal government to force planning and execution on a large scale, other threads of connection do exercise their influence on the rising international perspective. Student exchange, professorial mobility, economic interdependence, multinational industrial and financial organizations, new political organizations like the European Community—all these bring educational processes in different countries into closer connection. Nor should we fail to mention the impulse that arises from the need to know the role of educational systems if one would seek to project the future of other countries.

And so we start the patient business of trying to understand each other so that we can understand ourselves and improve the prospects for our common fate.

James A. Perkins
Chairman
International Council for
Educational Development

I.

HISTORICAL GUIDANCE

The Relation of Higher Education to Society: Two Historical Examples

R. Freeman Butts

I shall try to weave together some interactions of three themes and to do it by illustrations from two historical periods. The three themes are: (1) the access of various classes and groups to higher education; (2) the academic requirements and standards set by the professoriate and expected to be achieved by the students; and (3) the role played by higher education in preparing students for jobs in the society, especially jobs for the professions, the governmental bureaucracy, and industry leading to modernization.

The first of the two historical cases I have selected is what is now being called by historians "the educational revolution" in England between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries. That period illustrates an early "success story" in opening up and changing higher education in England at a particularly critical time in its history. And, second, the efforts to reform higher education in America from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th centuries, something less than a success story with regard to the modernization process.

I. The Educational Revolution in England (1550–1650)

Let me remind you that historical scholarship of the last decade has revealed an extraordinary educational explosion in England between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries. Facilities for organized education became more available to a higher proportion of the population and more heavily relied upon by a wider range of social classes than in any society up to that time in history. This educational expansion was also characteristic of other nations of the West at the primary and secondary level, but not nearly so much so as in the field of higher education. A major source of scholarship on this score is the research done by Professor Lawrence Stone at Princeton, building around his investigations summarized in his massive study, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (1965). If I may oversimplify, he has argued, and I think very persuasively, that the gentry class in England (that landowning class just below the highest nobility in prestige and in prerogatives but above the urban middle classes and all of the rest of the people) turned in great numbers to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge beginning in the middle of the 16th century. As a result, the gentry were able to compete effectively with the nobility in the management of the affairs of English society, increasingly to man the key positions in government and to take the side of the King in his quarrels with the nobility. They thereby not only helped to create an ever-growing centralized royal government in England vis à vis the nobility, but also achieved a position of political power that eventually enabled the gentry to play key roles in the parliamentary overthrow of the Crown itself – at least for a time – and thus to challenge both King and nobility in the English Revolution of the 17th century.

Now, the significant thing is that Stone and other scholars are attributing a good deal of this increased political power to the fact that the gentry flooded the universities with their sons, thus enabling them to acquire a social power that the

aristocratic classes could not maintain in other parts of Europe because they did not frequent the universities the way this group in England did. The English aristocracy became the most highly educated upper class of history up to that time. And Stone argues that this enabled the upper classes in England to retain their place in the power structure over a much longer period of time into the 18th and 19th centuries, long after it was possible for their counterparts in France to do so. The gentry replaced the old establishment of the nobility to become the new establishment.

In any case, the English Revolution which came some hundred years before the French and American Revolutions had the long-range effect of helping England to become the first modern nation; and a good deal of this development is attributed to the expansion of education. Thus, with regard to the trend to increasing access, the estimate is made that by 1640 as many as 2½ percent of the age group over age 17 (males) were attending the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This proportion was not reached again in England until the Second World War. This extraordinary expansion was of course made possible by an expansion of primary and secondary schools that enabled one-third to one-half of English boys to be literate by 1660, with possibly one boy in eight or ten attending a grammar school. It is estimated that there was one grammar school for every 4,400 persons in 1660, whereas there was one for 24,000 in the mid-nineteenth century.

With respect to the professoriate and academic requirements, I need not dwell on the role of the development of humanism and the humanities. Let me simply say that academic reform in the universities of England was undertaken by an alliance between the new Humanist scholars and the Reformation royal government. The intervention of the state at Oxford and Cambridge speeded up the process of shift from medieval theological and academic studies to the humanistic studies of the Renaissance which were spreading

over Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. This shift began early in the 16th century in England as the Crown established regius professorships and promoted university appointments in the classical humanistic studies. The general intervention of the state in university governance by Henry VIII is well known as one of the means of increasing his own political power. The Act of 1533, the act for restraint of appeals, gave full authority over the universities to the Crown, removing the Papacy from any jurisdiction. It was followed the next year by the Act of Supremacy which recognized the Crown as the sole head of the Church of England, and so on. Intervention of the state with respect to the "reform" of the universities reform in the eyes of the state, of course was not only being applied to the question of professorial appointment, but the Vice-Chancellor was now to be responsible to a layman, a secular statesman representing the Crown, rather than to a Chancellor representing a bishop or the Pope.

The state was also intervening, as I have mentioned, on matters of curriculum to effect an academic reform whereby humanistic studies would replace medieval studies, just as the Church of England would replace the Church of Rome. I do not need to belabor the meaning of humanistic education, but I would like to stress one point about its origin. One of the eminent philosophers at Columbia University, Paul Oscar Kristeller, has argued, and again I think persuasively, that humanism was not so much a new philosophy of man or a distinctive system of thought as it was a cultural and educational movement by professional educators to impose upon schools and universities the use of the ancient classical writings of Latin and of Greek in place of the medieval literature. Humanism as a term was actually not coined until a 19th century German educator, F. J. Niethammer, used it to apply to the classical education which he preferred over the rising practical and scientific and technical studies that were threatening to engulf German education in the 19th century.

So, the humanists were primarily educators and secretaries in the service of the princes and duchies of Italy, France and Germany. It was largely a professional movement, not originating so much outside the universities and the schools as originating within them.

Now, the purpose of stressing this point is that the humanist educators were able to persuade the rulers of the various city-states, principalities, and would-be-nations that their training in the classics was the best way to prepare an upper class ruling elite, in whatever kind of society. Eventually, the humanistic education of the 16th and 17th centuries spread through all of the countries of Western Europe and was accepted in most of the institutions of secondary and higher education. It was not only promoted from within the profession but fixed upon the universities of Europe by governmental action. In this particular case, it was fastened upon the universities of England by royal decree and by parliamentary law so that the university statutes came to provide that the classical humanities would be the prime means by which young men were prepared for their service in secular society as well as in the Church.

Humanists, therefore, were the aggressive reformers of their day, the academic gadflies lambasting their old-fogey colleagues in those other departments of knowledge which they were not able to dominate. Humanists came into very strong control of departments that stressed the literary studies: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. They had general disdain for logic, for metaphysics, for mathematics, and for the scientific studies which had been prominent in the Aristotelian and in the medieval departments of knowledge. Humanism was not a rival philosophy of life; it represented rival departments of academic knowledge in the universities.

Humanistic studies became the core of the kind of preparation required for the top bureaucratic jobs in the state

as well as in the Church. Visitors to the universities under Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell stipulated that there should be daily public lectures in Latin and Greek, that lectures on the Bible should replace glosses by the scholastic scholars, that canon law should be discontinued and civil law should be instituted, and that all students should be required to study the humanistic liberal arts.

So, access to university study was greatly increased; state intervention in faculty appointment and the curriculum was greatly increased; and the range of jobs for which the graduates were being prepared was understood to mean that university graduates would be more in line for preferment in the government bureaucracies as well as in the Church bureaucracy. Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth all agreed that henceforth the ruling classes should have a humanistic education. The gentry very quickly got this message and flooded into the universities to take advantage of it. Humanistic education became a gentlemanly education.

With respect to some present day arguments that formal education is not all that important to society, I would like to point out that Stone argues that much of the English florescence of life from 1590 to 1690 was due to the expansion of formal education:

> " . . . the extraordinary increase in quantity of education at every level [wrought] a change of such dimensions as to create an entirely new intellectual environment . . . the cultural achievements of the age of Bacon, Raleigh, Ben Jonson and Donne are extraordinary by any standards, and cannot be entirely unrelated to the formal educational background from which they emerged . . . It must be assumed that the formal educational system, whatever its admitted deficiencies, was to

no small degree responsible for this remarkable cultural efflorescence."[1]

To conclude this first example, then, I would argue that the relation of higher education to society is not a simple matter of one-way intervention by the state or by society in education. It is an interactive process between the government, the established classes and the assertive classes, and the faculties of the universities or other educational institutions. Sometimes one takes the lead: government, class, or professoriate; sometimes another takes the lead. It is clear that state intervention did make a difference in the appointment of faculty and in shaping the curricula in this period; but it is also clear that the state or the rulers were very greatly influenced by the educational ideas, proposals and practices of the professional educators. The rulers sided with the humanist educators against the traditional medieval educators. Put another way: Henry and Elizabeth were happy to support the reform of the curriculum toward humanism because that aided them to weaken the Church and the professoriate favorable to the Roman Church that was in power in the universities. Similarly, the demands of the state bureaucracy upon the university to give particular kinds of training to meet their requirements are certainly clear. But, it is also clear that university educators influenced the kinds of demands that the bureaucracy made. This reflected the cooperation of the profession and the state authority in determining these requirements. A similar process ensued, with different political and religious complexions, during the short-lived Puritan Revolution of the early 17th century.

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[1] Marius B. Jansen and Lawrence Stone, "Education and Modernization in Japan and England," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, January 1967, Vol. 9, p. 218.

II. The "Great Resistance" in American Higher Education (1750–1850)

Let me turn to a second example, America on the eve of its modernization. By the middle of the 18th century, the humanistic education which had been so new and so revolutionary a century earlier in England was now in the saddle in the nine colleges of the American English Colonies. The humanists and the religionists were strong allies in all of those colleges. But this was a period when a new set of reformers began to attack the humanistic and religious establishment and to initiate new kinds of institutions which they felt would be more appropriate to the emerging secular society being propounded by the *philosophes* and by the enlightened thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic. This took several forms. One form was the effort to establish a more public and more secular kind of institution in place of the tyrannical denominationally oriented and religiously controlled private institutions of the day.

In New York, William Livingston, a Presbyterian and Democrat, tried to establish a college that would be chartered by the legislature, publicly supported, open to all social classes, and nonsectarian. But in his struggle for public higher education, he was defeated by the Tory and Anglican forces, and in 1754 King's College was established by Royal Charter from the Crown and under strong Anglican control. Livingston was asked to be on the board of trustees, but, instead, he moved to New Jersey and became a prominent revolutionary governor. This was a notable failure in the effort to achieve public, nonsectarian, more "open" institutions.

You are more familiar, perhaps, with Benjamin Franklin's undertaking to establish an academy and college in Philadelphia. His proposals met with somewhat more success with respect to the College of Philadelphia. It was more open; it was less sectarian; and it did profess to be turning more toward the training of persons for public service and

commerce and trade as befitted the role of Philadelphia in the life of America in the 1750s and 60s.

Still more radical was Thomas Jefferson's effort to reform the Anglican College of William and Mary and transform it into a genuine public university responsive to the legislature and responsive to the democratic movements of the day. Most importantly, he sought to change its curriculum, dominated by the classics, into a series of schools heavily oriented to the political sciences, the social sciences, the mathematics and physical sciences, to the professions—medicine and law—and to the opening up of other professions. But he failed.

I have mentioned these three cases because they were promoted by three prominent public men; they were not educators in the narrow academic sense; they did not spend their lives within ivy halls. So, much of the impetus for reform of the traditional, private, religious college was coming from public men who were trying to modernize American society, trying to get the colleges to serve the needs of impending development and modernization. But, by and large, the colleges did not move very much before the War of Independence. Afterwards, the momentum increased somewhat.

Thomas Jefferson was able to get the University of Virginia established in 1818, and there were many other efforts to establish new state universities or to change existing private institutions into public institutions. One such effort resulted in the famous Dartmouth College Case of 1819 which slowed down, and effectively stopped the transformation of private, sectarian colleges into public institutions. Thereupon, increasingly, the democratic forces turned to the establishment of state universities, always against very difficult and severe opposition from various religious groups in the several states.

At the same time, there were strong internal efforts in a

number of institutions to reform themselves. There were many cases of faculty members or boards of trustees attempting to respond to the increasingly middle class and developmental needs of the United States in facing the continent to the west and increasing its industrial as well as its agricultural potential. One of the most interesting failures was at Amherst College where an extraordinary proposal was made by the faculty and approved by the trustees that a whole new parallel course of study, outside the traditional bachelor of arts, would be established directly to cater to the industrial, commercial, and agricultural classes. This was probably one of the most monumental failures in the American history of higher education because, a few decades later, no sign of this effort could be found, and increasingly Amherst became an elite, highly selective, purely liberal arts college.

Two more illustrations: one, Francis Wayland almost succeeded in transforming Brown into a modern university by trying to change the faculty and the degree requirements so that the classics would not be required of all students but that modern languages, sciences, mathematics, English and social sciences could be substituted. But he was defeated and died a disappointed man in the 1850s. Another effort by Henry Tappan at the University of Michigan made a good deal of headway until he was driven out for his alien Prussian efforts to introduce elite education into the egalitarian frontier of Michigan.

The summary, then, is that the protests, the efforts to reform toward a more modern type of higher education more suitable to a developing country, were, by and large, either unsuccessful or represented an undercurrent rather than the major current of development in American higher education up to around the middle of the 19th century.

One of the reasons for this, I think, is the fact that there was too little alliance between the academic reformers and

the institutional power bases that could have made reform stick. The power of the religious denominations that supported the sectarian colleges, and, within the institutions, the power of the classical and humanistic academic traditions were able to hold off for several decades a basic transformation of American higher education. Hofstadter and Metzger, in their history of academic freedom, call this the "Great Retrogression." I think that is not quite the right term because I do not think higher education retrograded; it did not move back a century, or two, or three, or four. I prefer the term the "Great Resistance." There was enormous resistance to opening up the colleges to new sectors of the population, to the secular scientific studies, to practical or technical or professional studies, or to preparation for the workaday world.

Finally, however, the spokesmen for reform and modernization began to turn in the 1840s and 50s to proposing that the federal government should do something about all this. Back as early as 1840, Captain Alden Partridge, at Norwich University, argued that Congress ought to provide funds to establish an "Industrial University" for the benefit of the working classes. Jonathan Turner at Illinois College took up the campaign in the 1850s. Eventually the political process began to take hold. But it took, I guess one could say, the Civil War to produce Congressional action.

Prior to that time, the opposition to a more secular, practical, professional type of higher education came principally from fundamentalist sectarian religious groups, which experienced an enormous revival or second Great Awakening in the early decades of the 19th century, stimulating much overseas missionary effort as well as domestic. This was one of the major societal forces that held out against secular public higher education, but it was also opposed in various ways by extreme Jacksonian egalitarians who were suspicious that higher education would simply cater to the upper elite intellectual classes and *increase* inequality rather than reduce

it. They feared that colleges would merely become what has been referred to as "an assembly line for establishment men," and the common people would be left out. Thirdly, of course, there were the pro-slavery racist views of the planters of the South who were fearful that any strong movement toward opening up higher institutions would lead to higher education for black as well as for white lower classes.

So, it was not until the war was on, with Southerners no longer in Congress, that the Eastern states and the Western states could ally themselves on the possibilities for industrial as well as for agricultural development. In 1862 they passed the Morrill Act. This was a signal that a nationwide political process was at work to supplement the movements toward state universities which were the result of strong political efforts in the various states. So when the academic reformers began to exert influence upon and to gain financial support from the organized institutions of government, from corporate foundations, and from private philanthropists (which process began to accelerate in the latter part of the 19th century), then the real transformation of American higher education began to accelerate toward greater access, modern studies, and broadened career training for a rapidly modernizing society.

II.

ACCESS, HIGHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Access to Higher Education in Germany

Hellmut Becker

In Germany, until recently, everyone who passed the final school leaving examination—the so-called *Abitur*—had the right to a place at university, although this examination has remained essentially unchanged since the days when Karl Marx took his *Abitur* at a Jesuit college in Trier. The school-leaver who had passed his *Abitur* still had this right, even if he was totally ignorant of a subject he needed at the university—such as Greek in the case of the theologian. Since the twenties, examinations in two-thirds of Germany (i. e. most of the area that was formerly Prussia) have been based on a triple system: a third of the final marks are based on the pupil's performance in the preceding two years; another third on written examinations; and the final third on an oral examination. With the exception of Southern Germany none of the regions has a procedure for standardizing assessment between different schools. The exams are set by the individual school and merely submitted for approval to the regional education authority. In principle the exam is regarded as a uniform qualification, but in practice its decentralized character means that the individual student can

specialize to a limited extent and study certain subjects in depth.

With the expansion of secondary education (the percentage of the relevant age group obtaining the *Abitur* doubled from 6 percent in 1962 to about 12 percent by 1972) admission was restricted in an increasing number of university disciplines, particularly medicine, because the university could no longer absorb the numbers leaving high school. In 1972, the German Supreme Federal Court ruled that the difference in admission regulations between individual universities was unconstitutional, because only a standard admission procedure for the whole country was consistent with the right to equality of opportunity laid down in the Constitution. As the matter also affected the rights of the different states within the Federal Republic, their governments thereupon agreed to set up a single central admission board which will in the future inform all applicants what and when they can study. The various states decide by means of a complex set of criteria how many students each university can admit in each subject. The numbers are given to the central admission board so that the vacancies can be distributed accordingly. This procedure at least squares with the Constitution.

The average mark a candidate obtains in his *Abitur* is decisive. But if an applicant has already waited a few years for admission, or has postschool experience relevant to his proposed university subject, this is taken into consideration. The present procedure admits 60 percent of the candidates on the basis of achievement and 40 percent according to their place on the waiting list. The disadvantage of this new system, to my mind, is that the *Abitur* does not do justice to a person's ability if he concentrated on one or two subjects. For example, if one wants to study chemistry at a university, his chances of admission are scarcely improved by the fact that he obtained the best marks in his class for the subject, if his marks are low in English or German. This is a serious deficiency. But the whole procedure is so complicated that

one can't be sure that the Federal Supreme Court will not rule against it in the near future. So not only is the system highly complicated but is fraught with uncertainty and hence creates anxiety for those involved.

The Federal Government is currently preparing legislation which was passed in draft form in fall, 1973. It is due to pass through the Bundestag this winter (1973/74), but will not do so without widespread public demonstrations by students throughout the country. It will certainly be a major political issue in Germany in the next twelve months. The new procedure will allocate a quarter of the places according to *Abitur* marks (but again only the average mark obtained), a quarter on the basis of waiting lists, a quarter for socially difficult or special cases (which will also include foreign students), and a quarter by an intricate combination of attainment and waiting list. The most important element in this new proposal is the limit it imposes on the duration of the university course. As a rule students will have to leave university after four years, whereas hitherto one could study as long as one liked in Germany. The new law will of course vastly increase the number of places available.

One of the snags to this admission procedure stems from the fact that current reform of secondary education is directed against excessive formal control toward a freer choice of subjects and individual interests, more on the lines of the Swedish system. Educational planning agencies in the Federal Republic – the *Bildungsrat* and the *Wissenschaftsrat* – have therefore advocated admitting students on the basis of individual marks and not on overall average. If an applicant opts for chemistry and physics and has very good marks in these subjects, it should not matter so much if he is weak, for example, in foreign languages. We, in the planning agencies, would prefer it if the profile of the final high school examination afforded different chances of entrance to different faculties. The great majority of educationalists are opposed to attaching such importance to an average mark; it

may be convenient for the computer but we don't consider it to be in the best interest of education.

At the moment the whole issue is in flux. All restrictions on admission are limited to no more than a year, because it is hoped that—despite the rising number of applicants—it will be possible to return to unrestricted admission on the basis of the school-leaving certificate. The political problem stems above all from the position of those working class children who, in recent years, have stayed on in secondary schools (contributing to the 100 percent increase mentioned earlier in the proportion of school-leavers obtaining their *Abitur*). They did so in the understandable hope of automatic access to higher education, a hope consistent with hitherto prevailing practice. The abolition—unique in German history—of automatic access to higher education has occurred at a time when greater numbers of students from a working class background are reaching the threshold to such education. To complicate things further, applicants are now to be refused admission on the strength of marks awarded by their schoolteachers, which—as all the research has shown—lack the necessary objectivity. We have a large body of research showing that when different teachers assess the same piece of work along a six-point (A to F) scale, the mark awarded may vary from the highest to the lowest category. It is ironical that despite this exposure, by all the relevant research, of the inadequacy of school marks, the fate of the prospective student should still depend on them. On the other hand, we know that to replace this system by standardized testing (of the kind they have in Sweden or something like ETS in the United States) is a dubious proposition—for well-known reasons. These tests do not do justice to a deeper knowledge in single subjects, acquired by individual learning in different high schools. So the whole problem, however you look at it, remains intractable.

What this brief sketch of admission problems does show is that West German universities would be in a state of crisis in

any case, even if the student revolt of the late sixties had never taken place. The link needed between a vastly expanded, indeed still expanding secondary school system, and a system of higher education which has not expanded at the same rate, has yet to be forged.

Access and Public Support

Ernest L. Boyer

I wish to speak about the changing patterns of access to higher education and comment on the educational and public response to these emerging trends. While searching for fundamental developments that cut across national boundaries, I shall draw my illustrations primarily from the United States.

At the very outset I should identify four separate student groups, since each is developing its own particular admission pattern. Specifically I shall focus on the "typical" college group (18-22 year-old); minority group students; working adults; and older citizens.

A. The Typical College Students

Since World War II there has been a remarkable increase in the number of high school graduates who immediately go on to college. It seems clear that in the United States at least we

have moved from elite to mass education during this 25-year period.

Currently 94 percent of all 14-17 year-old young people are enrolled in secondary school, and approximately 75 percent of this age group complete the high school program. This means we have a secondary school base which provides a springboard for a large number of students who are upwardly mobile, and about 50 percent of all high school graduates now go on to some form of postsecondary education.

In some regions this trend toward higher education is so strong it is shifting rapidly from *mass* to *universal* access—and here two separate strategies should be noted. The first, and most publicized, is the City University of New York which has made a commitment to admit all high school graduates. This development is unique because it opens up a *four-year* collegiate program to many academically disadvantaged students.

It is true, of course, that many of the nation's land-grant colleges have had, for years, an open admissions pattern. But operationally these institutions were still quite selective since the policy of mass admission was accompanied by high attrition rates. (The arrangement has frequently been characterized as a "revolving door" admissions policy.) In the case of the City University of New York, however, there is a strong institutional commitment to help the student succeed in the baccalaureate program, and this is in sharp contrast to the former experiments.

There is a second approach to universal access in the United States. California, New York, and several other states have developed a network of junior or community colleges—and *two years* of postsecondary education is guaranteed to all high school graduates. At present, approximately 85 percent of the graduates in California move on to postsecondary education, and in New York it approximates 65 percent.

Both figures are well above the national average.

And what has been the institutional or educational response to this move toward open access? The first and quite predictable outcome has been increased competition for admission to the nation's four-year colleges and universities. In New York, for example, it has become increasingly difficult to get into our senior institutions, and the high school average of the entering freshman has sharply increased. Therefore, the prediction that a commitment to mass education would lead to a great "leveling down" of the traditional university has, I believe, not been supported by the facts.

But the most dramatic response to mass education has been the development of a network of two-year colleges to meet the unique educational interests of the new clientele. These institutions have expanded as our access patterns have expanded, and it has been estimated that during the past decade we have opened a new community college in the United States every ten days.

Therefore, in measuring the educational impact of mass education, I cannot stress strongly enough that, while our senior institutions have grown, it is really the two-year college that has made it possible for us to move from elitist to mass, to universal higher education. The failure to understand this phenomenon is to miss a very crucial development of postsecondary education in the United States, and it leads to a question of central importance. Is it possible for a nation to move to open access in higher education without creating new institutional arrangements to respond to the new student diversity?

And now a word about the public reaction to all of this. Does mass education among the young adults have public approval and support? It is my opinion that in the United States there is broad-based support for *two years* of

postsecondary education but at the present time the City University scheme—which suggests the potential of an "A.B. for everyone"—is receiving very mixed reviews. There is still an uneasy feeling that such an open admissions approach "cheapens the degree." On the other hand, as I have said, the average citizen does seem to support the two-year college movement, and I am convinced that 14 years of formal education is now accepted by most citizens as a "right" for their children.

To say it another way, I believe the nation's long commitment to provide basic education for the coming generation has taken another quantum leap ahead—but the new leveling-off point at the present time seems to be two years of postsecondary education—not four.

Before leaving the collegiate enrollment pattern among recent high school graduates, there is one current trend that must be noted. While we have made dramatic moves toward mass education, there is now some skepticism about the *value* of higher education among the young adults. The discontinuation of the military draft, plus some rebellion against a prolonged period of educational captivity, plus widespread publicity that college graduates cannot get jobs have helped spark a slowdown in college applications. For the first time in years the percentage of high school graduates going on to college is less than it was one year ago, and some colleges and academic departments within colleges are in trouble. It is still unclear if this trend is short term or sustained. However, there is a question we all must probe: even with the opportunity of open access will the young people increasingly choose to "step out" of higher education to work or drift awhile before completing their collegiate studies?

B. Minority Group Students

In analyzing the new access patterns to postsecondary

education it is necessary to give special attention to the place of the minority student in the U.S. university. During the decade of the sixties there was a growing conviction that, even though college enrollments were expanding dramatically, the nation's racial and ethnic minorities—the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the American Indians, the Chicanos—still were being bypassed.

As a result, U.S. colleges and universities made a very conscious effort to recruit minority group students and develop special educational programs to meet their needs. However, in spite of aggressive efforts, Blacks are still significantly underrepresented in the nation's colleges, and the educational responses to the needs of these students—which has shifted erratically from Black studies to revolutionary studies to vocational studies—have had mixed results.

Since this issue of increased minority group access to higher education is peculiar to the United States, I will leave the matter by commenting briefly on the public attitude toward this trend. It seems clear to me that in more recent months there has been a kind of public backlash against the aggressive recruitment of minority students.

The reason for this increased resistance to the granting of special enrollment status to minority group young people may reflect the conviction that the job is now pretty well accomplished or it may be linked to the darker motives of prejudice—or both. In any event, as the open access trends increase, the needs of students from *all* social and economic categories will be better served and, therefore, the need for *special* programs to accommodate *special* groups of students will be reduced.

C. The Working Adult

The most dramatic access trend facing postsecondary

education in the United States is among the working adults. There are several reasons for this new thrust. First, we are becoming an older population and demographically shifting away from a youth-dominated culture. Also, workers now have more leisure time. The average work week was 62 hours in 1900; now it is 37½. Then too, we are now breaking up the work pattern and we hear increasingly about the four-day work week. Further, there is the problem of the explosion of knowledge and the fact that our information becomes quickly obsolete.

And what has been the response to all of this? Increasingly I hear talk of the rights of older people and a rejection of the assumption that all of the educational tax investment is for the very young. I well recall a kind of confrontation I had with labor leaders from New York who said, "You must create a college program for the workers. We want to talk to our young people once again, and more than that, we're making these tax investments, not just for our children, but for ourselves."

There is, in short, an important shifting mood. There is a new claim by the adults in our society. We are hearing increasingly of the "rights of adults" in relation to public education and a demand that we close the generation gap. After all, in 1929, 75 percent of our citizens were completing only primary school. In 1973, 75 percent of the young complete secondary school. So we do have a tremendous education gap between the generations, and I don't think we can live with that.

It is in this context that the access pattern of working adults has sharply shifted. It has been estimated, for example, that four million adults are now in continuing education. Further, we have estimated that one-third of our total enrollment in the State University of New York is over 25 years of age. And also at several of our community colleges 50 percent of the enrollment is over 25 years of age.

This adult enrollment phenomenon has crept up on us slowly, and I don't think our rhetoric in higher education has come to terms with this new trend. We still talk as if we are dealing with youth ghettos, when, in fact, the slow but certain shift toward an older population has taken place.

And now a word about the educational impact of all of this. The shift toward the older student has forced upon us all sorts of flexibilities we must confront. In the State University of New York, for example, we created a new college called Empire State College. This institution has no single campus. It deals with students through tutorials. It assumes that older students do not have free time to live with us year round. Empire State College students study on their own and meet occasionally with their tutors. The average age is 32, and the most dramatic response to this program has been among the working adult and the housewife—people who are keenly committed to returning to college but who cannot commit themselves to the youth ghetto isolation, to the full-time, year-round operation.

And here I should comment about the public response. As I see it, most people enthusiastically applaud the notion that we are gearing ourselves increasingly to serve adults. The attitude seems to be that adults need education more, they deserve it more, they appreciate it more, and there is a feeling that a place like Empire State College is geared to serve the students, not just the professor. The public support for this move is, in short, remarkably affirmative.

D. The Older Citizen

In this analysis of the relationship between access patterns and public support I close with a reference to the increased interest in education among older citizens. This is a new phenomenon but I consider it more than a passing gimmick. With earlier retirement and longer life we are finding a

peculiarly attractive trend in the admissions pattern, one that brings back those who were typically thought to have been beyond the "collegiate years." At one of our colleges, for example, an entire residence hall was converted into a home for the elderly. We have about 450 people over 60 who live right on campus.

Personally I welcome the prospect of developing a student body that spans the years. There seems to be a wedding of attitude and interests between the young and the elderly. The older people are interested in more of the traditional curriculum. They seem somewhat more reflective, and they do have the leisure time to take advantage of the campus life. Therefore, in the State University of New York we are seeking to convert at least part of our residence halls into a unit for older people, believing that such a move will meet a social need and make the campus a healthier place as well.

The public response to such a trend is mixed. Most people find it a rather curious, almost entertaining, thought that older people are coming back to college. After all, throughout history we have accepted a "front end" approach to education, one which assumes that formal learning is something to "get out of the way" before one enters the "real world" of work. The model of a society where older citizens remain intellectually alive and productive is, unfortunately, new and novel to many who still think of college campuses as playpens for the young.

But I believe our social conscience regarding older people is being quickened, and with earlier retirement, the continued expansion of knowledge, and more flexible educational arrangements, this new pattern of college access among older citizens and retirees will persist.

The "Noncollege" Postsecondary Trends

One final word. I cannot talk about new access patterns without noting the burgeoning enrollment in *noncollegiate* postsecondary education. In the United States we now have, it is estimated, over 7,000 trade schools with 7,000,000 students and 1,300 business schools with 600,000 students. Many industries and businesses are now building their own educational establishments which in many instances look, and function, like the typical college campus.

If traditional higher education remains relatively unresponsive to the needs of the new mass education clientele, it seems clear that alternative postsecondary arrangements will continue to emerge. Clearly, the educational challenge must be posed. Should colleges and universities continue to expand their educational offerings to meet the needs of more and more students and a changing social context? Does the development of a network of "noncollegiate" postsecondary institutions mean that we will remain academically "pure" or does it mean that we are becoming increasingly obsolete? Will there, in time, be a closer relationship between the traditional and these emerging nontraditional forms of education?

Summary Observations

Throughout history our view of formal education fits neatly into our rigidly segmented view of life. Living was separated into four well-divided chunks: four or five years of happy play; ten to twenty years of formal learning; forty years of full-time work; and then a time of dignified decline.

But I am convinced that all of that has now begun to change. Because of the earlier maturation of the young, the increase in leisure time, the explosion of knowledge, the need for frequent retraining, earlier retirement and longer life, we are now rejecting the simple notion that one should go to

school as a child and then draw on the interest of that dwindling educational capital for fifty years or more.

The new model, as I see it, includes a period of early formal education, of course. But it also includes the notion that formal learning must *occur* and *reoccur* throughout the periods which heretofore were limited to full-time work and the retirement years. We are moving into a period in which a "lifetime of learning" will, for many of our citizens, become a dream come true.

It is in this context then that the new access patterns should be viewed. These new trends may be summarized as follows:

First, there is a movement from elitist to mass postsecondary education for secondary school graduates, and this emerging access pattern seems to have broad-based public support.

Second, in the United States there is a willingness to support universal access at the two-year level, but support for such access to the four-year level is much less clear. The problems of cost and the "cheapening of the degree" seem to cause many to reject the notion of open admission to the higher levels.

Third, the move to support special access arrangements for minority group students seems to have weakened somewhat, possibly reflecting the conviction that as the college doors are opened wide for everyone, *special* arrangements for *special* groups of students are not needed.

Fourth, the major new thrust in postsecondary education in the United States (although it has had a long tradition in some countries) is the increased commitment to the working adult. This new access trend has sparked more flexible educational arrangements and has widespread public support.

Fifth, increasingly older citizens are being viewed as an important learning sector and the interest and influence of this group, it is predicted, will expand.

Sixth, as we move toward the so-called learning society, nontraditional forms of education will emerge outside the higher education structure. Access to these new vocationally oriented institutions will be easy and increasingly attractive to young and old alike. The response of the traditional university to this trend will determine whether higher education will remain vital or whether it will become increasingly obsolete.

Reflections on the Relations Between the Occupational Structure and Higher Educational Systems

Martin Trow

I would like to say by way of preface that my remarks reflect the fact that I come from an old and skeptical civilization. I may, therefore, view the future with somewhat less enthusiasm than the representatives of the young optimistic societies of Europe.

Let me begin by addressing myself to the question of the functions of higher education. How can a system of higher education meet the varied requirements of complex societies? The way to begin an answer, I think, is to ask: What are the kinds of functions that higher education performs for the occupational structure of such a society? I think it performs, broadly, three types of functions. *First*, it selects and forms intellectual and governing elites. These fall into various categories: creators of knowledge, the scientists and scholars; professional leaders, particularly of the old professions of medicine, law and the clergy; teachers in universities and elite secondary schools; politicians and higher civil servants. This is done through a combination of what might be called a higher vocational training and also through the formation of the

character and values of these future elites.

Second, there is another kind of function, and that is to train large numbers of highly skilled people, not only the institutional leaders, but also the rank and file, of the professions and semiprofessions, both technical and managerial, increasingly required by a highly complex society and its institutions. This is a response in part to the proliferation of service professions that are generated and supported by the welfare state—the myriads of social workers and counsellors, teachers and psychologists, planners and administrators—and ultimately all of the higher white collar occupations, especially those with any kind of professional pretentions.

Third, there is another set of functions of a large and comprehensive system of higher education, and that is to educate a whole society to be adaptable to rapid social and economic change, to be able, so it is hoped, to benefit from, rather than to be the victims of, an advanced industrial society. What is aimed at here is a population which knows how to use the resources of an advanced society, a people who can deal with big government and bureaucracies and utilize new and expanded educational provisions, a people who have "learned how to learn." These, in broad terms, are the central functions, respectively, of elite, mass and universal access higher education that I have spoken of in other places.*

Now, all of these phases and functions persist as aspects of large comprehensive systems of higher education. A mass system must find places in it somewhere to continue to perform elite functions; systems of universal access must perform the functions of selection and preparation of elites,

*See, for example, Martin Trow, *Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education*, paper prepared for an OECD Conference on Post-Secondary Education, June 1973.

and also train large numbers of professionals and semiprofessionals, as well as preparing a whole population for life in a complex industrial society.

Functional Division of Labor

The central organizational problem that this poses for us is how to sustain systems in which there is a functional division of labor between segments of the system, between and within institutions, segments which are governed by fundamentally different conceptions of man, society and education. The necessity to maintain a functional division of labor is implicit in the requirement that these systems of higher education continue to perform all these varied functions in complex societies. I believe that this will be increasingly difficult in the face of very strong leveling tendencies which arise from egalitarian forces, from organizational and bureaucratic pressures for standardization, from emulative tendencies among institutions, and from the difficulties that many societies experience in managing institutions with quite variable systems of academic standards. In an egalitarian world, all differences come to be seen as inequities, especially when they are associated with status differences, and reflect historical class and social differences. This makes the survival of elite functions and of the institutions (and parts of institutions) which perform them increasingly problematic.

One solution, and an easy one, is to call rhetorically for a differentiation of function but equality of status of educational institutions. That was the slogan of the 1944 Secondary Education Act in Great Britain which created a system of secondary education based on three kinds of state secondary schools—secondary modern, technical vocational and grammar schools—intended to differ in their functions but to have equality of status. But we have seen historically that this kind of rhetorical statement about differentiation and equality raises expectations which cannot be met.

Against this kind of rhetoric I would propose an "iron law" of educational development: "Who says diversity says inequality."

The dilemma inherent in this "law" (or tendency) gives rise to a set of questions. What inequalities must be resisted? What inequalities must be defended? And defended how? What are the bases of legitimate differentiation among institutions of higher education? What kinds of boundaries can we erect and sustain between functionally differentiated parts of systems? For if we cannot sustain these boundaries against the forces for leveling, then the systems cannot continue to perform the multiple functions required of higher education in an advanced industrial society.

University Systems and Job Qualifications

I cannot here go any further with those questions, but want only to make a few comments on themes that arise from them. Elite university systems are essentially "sponsoring" systems, where there is a rough congruence between the number of graduates and the number of elite posts. If there is some excess of graduates, they can create new sectors of elite activity, or be shipped off to India, or whatever the functional equivalent is. (One way of looking at the whole 19th century colonial experience is as a way of dealing with the growing numbers of sons of the elite by sending them to dignified and honorable posts overseas.) Of course, even in this sponsored situation, the highest rewards are always competitive, but I want to emphasize the importance of the sponsorship: to be sponsored is to be able to assume early in your education that there will be a respectable place for you in society and the economy after you leave the university. The transformation of those elite systems into mass systems converts them into competitive systems all the way through. Graduates cannot be guaranteed elite posts. But the system of expectations appropriate to elite systems survives into the

mass phase, creating great discontent among the growing numbers of graduates of European universities who do not gain the jobs of the appropriate status and dignity that they have been led, in part by history and in part by their parents and secondary school teachers, to expect. Moreover, a growth in the numbers of graduates, and changes in their social origins necessarily is associated with a decline in the status of graduates and that is a further source of disappointment and resentment of European university graduates. I think that this has little to do with their being "overqualified" for the available jobs. Most higher white collar jobs, including technical work, can be done with two years of postsecondary training or six years. The work may be done somewhat differently, but most jobs, and indeed many occupations, are shaped more by the quality of recruitment to them rather than by any rigid connection between an educational qualification and the technical requirements of the job.

It might be appropriate to add a footnote on the question of manpower planning as it has been practiced in Europe. I think that the very concept of "overqualified graduates" is an aspect of the status honor or degradation associated with specific jobs rather than of their technical requirements. Manpower planning accepts the traditional links between jobs and qualifications, and tries, above all, to avoid having to place people in jobs with less dignity than their qualifications have traditionally commanded. It is, in my view, a carryover of elite conditions and assumptions into the phase of mass higher education, an attempt (inevitably unsuccessful) to translate those rigid links between education and certain honorific occupations into a situation in which jobs and qualifications are much more loosely linked.

Universal Access

Finally, I want to say a word about systems of universal access of postsecondary education toward which we are all

moving in our different national ways. I suggested that the basic function of "universal access" systems is to transmit "modern" attitudes and perspectives to whole populations. And this is true even when the higher education has a strongly technical or vocational cast. Whatever its nominal goals or content, higher education tends to erode narrow ethnic, regional, national and group identifications, that is to say, all kinds of nonrational loyalties that are incompatible with rapid social and geographical mobility and change. Modern higher education is a universal solvent; it generates, in the people exposed to it, a skepticism toward all received values and allegiances. It is heavily oriented toward the future, rather than toward tradition or place. It places a high premium on the capacity to learn how to learn, on an infinite adaptability to new situations—organizational, technological or social. In these institutions, and in the society for which they prepare, it matters less what one *knows* if one can only *learn* rapidly. Indeed, it is almost a virtue not to know too much in too much detail for fear of having acquired what Veblen called "a trained incapacity" to learn something new. In a rapidly changing society a body of knowledge can be a dead weight, an encumbrance. High skill, craftsmanship, deep specialized knowledge are all a kind of vested interest in the existing structure and content of knowledge and its institutional forms. What is wanted are bright, clever, adaptable people rather than those who pursue "wisdom" or the full complexities of the human condition.

What kind of human type does the system of universal access higher education seek to shape? The dangers, I think, are implicit in what I have been saying: a thinness both of culture and personality; a loss of density of character, of the kind of integrity which might induce an inappropriate stubborness in the face of new circumstances; and a reduction in the human diversity associated with religion, ethnicity, region, sex, age, nationality—all of those qualities and particularities which decline in importance under the impact of higher education.

We do run the danger of a society of interchangeable parts. And, here, I think, is the link with our theme of jobs and the occupational structure. But we begin now to see some reaction: a growth, among youth especially, of hostility to reason, a new search for nonrational and transcendental experience through drugs, sex, religion, purposeful communities, and, perhaps most important, on the horizon, a growing rejection of "careers" that require (or are thought to require) high adaptability and the loss of personal identity.

The liberal dream is a learning society. That is my dream, too, but at times it is also a nightmare. These are problems for those of us who support the expansion of educational opportunities, and who celebrate universal access to higher education—even more for us than for its conservative critics. The danger, as we move toward a society of interchangeable parts, is that our system of higher education will both reflect and serve that society in its need for adaptable anonymous persons. But there is another, quite different mission for higher education in our society, and that is to accept the difficult task of helping students find each his own voice, his own individuality. That mission is at odds with the needs of a society and occupational structure undergoing rapid change and demanding responsive adaptability. But the tension between these requirements—for personal integrity and social adaptability—lies at the heart of American higher education. Our colleges and universities should be judged, I believe, by whether they can sustain that tension rather than resolve it.

III.

AUTONOMY AND SYSTEMS

Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom

Zelman Cowen

The questions we now face are among the most important in the lives of universities and institutions of higher education: they bear on their capacity to make judgments about what they will do with the resources available to them, on what they will teach and say and how they will teach and say it, on what research they will undertake and decline to undertake. Such questions go to the heart of the university matter; the issues of academic freedom, of *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* are familiar to all of us, and institutional autonomy is intimately bound up with issues of academic freedom. I will say something about the relationship shortly.

As I have read the documentation made available to us in the OECD papers and elsewhere, it becomes apparent that trends and developments which bear upon higher education raise very real issues with respect to institutional autonomy. The third proposition in the major themes of the Carnegie Commission's report on the governance of higher education asserts quite baldly that external authorities are exercising more and more authority over higher education and institu-

tional independence has been declining. The greatest shift of power in recent years, the Carnegie report says, has taken place not *within* the campus but in the *transfer* of authority from the campus to outside agencies.[1] Sir Toby Weaver, the leader of the British delegation to the OECD meetings (Paris, June 1973), put it to the meeting in terms of a question, "How can we reconcile the legitimate aspirations toward autonomy of individual institutions with a proper concern for the interests of society as a whole?" And as I see it, this poses the question in terms of the claim on the side for institutional *autonomy*, on the other of *accountability* to society and in particular to the paymaster who is increasingly the State and, of course, ultimately, the taxpayer. The OECD Secretariat's general paper drew attention to the familiar theme that the percentage of the GNP devoted to higher education has in most member countries more than doubled over the past ten years and that this expenditure has increased far more rapidly than expenditure on other sectors of education and on most other areas of governmental expenditure on social service. Questions will inevitably be asked about the productivity of higher education if unit costs continue to rise and if the climate of public opinion increasingly questions the usefulness of the continuing growth of higher education. And we all know that there is such a climate. In particular, if questions of priorities are raised about competing claims for resources *within* the various sectors of education as well as competing claims outside the field of education such as health, environment, transportation, I believe that it is inevitable that issues will increasingly arise as to what particular institutions of higher education may appropriately do, or not do, as to what within a system of higher education are appropriate objectives for specifics within the complex, and ultimately as to what are the overall limits to be imposed on the higher education

[1] The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Governance of Higher Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, April 1973, p. 1.

sector. We are now past the time when in Martin Trow's words, at the OECD conference, the prevailing mood was "shaped by the euphoria of an expanding economy." The fact is, as one of my Australian colleagues put it some little time ago, that no one can ultimately challenge—though we may complain about it—the ultimate right of governments to decide what financial resources can be made available to the universities and the higher education sector as a whole, and, I would add, to which particular elements within the higher education sector.

I think it is well to recall what Mr. Trow has called the "set of interlocking dilemmas" which have flowed from the transition in systems of higher education in the relation of institutions within the state. Question: how are institutional autonomy and diversity affected by central planning and coordination, by demands for greater accountability and efficiency in the use of resources? Question: how is autonomy affected by the fact of inequalities and diversities as between institutions, and by the pressure on public agencies to reduce or to modify those inequalities? I have already spoken of the substantial increase in costs, and the very magnitude of the increase makes the demand for accountability—and for some showing of efficiency and service to the public interest—stronger and louder. Efficiency, of course, is one of the slippery words, but all sorts of questions are asked, as we well know, in this context. Among the familiar questions are: the allocation of resource and effort between undergraduate and postgraduate education and research; the *relevance* of research and cost-benefit analysis touching it; admission and access policies, particularly when parents and students face a *numerus clausus* or a quota. These are simply examples.

Australian experience, and I speak of this because it is what I know best, shows that the degree of control and coordinative regulation varies; it is much stronger in the nonuniversity sector of higher education than in the univer-

sity sector. But everywhere there is a trend—and again I use Martin Trow's words—toward greater central political direction of the development of higher education arising out of the growing costs and the increased relevance of higher education in so many areas of national life. Postsecondary education has been perceived as having become too important and too costly to be left to professors and educators alone, and they are by no means the sole interests in the higher education system which, as the Carnegie Commission puts it, is increasingly taking on a public utility status subject to regulation in the name of public interest. The central issue, therefore, becomes one of defining how the legitimate concerns of the public with regard to the cost, efficiency, and expanded functions of higher education can be reconciled with the freedom of colleges and universities to maintain their own integrity as institutions committed to teaching and learning.

Any proposition that the establishment of coordinating machinery will inevitably endanger academic freedom and institutional autonomy needs to be carefully scrutinized. Inevitably academic freedom and institutional autonomy are related but are not, in critical aspects, necessarily synonymous. In its central aspect, as I understand it, academic freedom is the freedom of the academic community which underlies the performance of the functions of teaching, learning and research; it is a freedom of inquiry, of competition among ideas, a freedom to speak and to advocate new and, it may be, unpopular ideas. It is a necessary condition for proper inquiry, for the search for new knowledge and ideas for valuable teaching. Institutional autonomy is the power of a university or other institution of higher education to govern itself free of outside controls, and it may well be that postsecondary institutions, institutions of higher education, operate best when given the maximum possible degree of freedom to plan their own courses and programs, recruit their own staff and students and to select their own lines of new development. I think most of us

would believe that they operate best this way.

It is obvious that in some respects the authorities and institutions which have been established—in Australia they are the Australian Universities Commission and the Australian Commission of Advanced Education (the latter dealing with the alternative stream, the Colleges of Advanced Education)—impose constraints upon institutional autonomy measured by the criteria referred to above. If I can say a few words by way of illustration in relation to my own field and experience: the statutory authority which is conferred upon the Australian Universities Commission is to tender advice to the central government and the universities, in the course of which the body consults with the states (using that word in the federal context). More recently, it has been required by statutory requirement to consult with the Australian Commission on Advanced Education. The statutory formula for its operation is to act with "a view to promoting the balanced development of universities so that their resources can be used to the greatest possible advantage for Australia." In discharging its functions, in making its recommendations for grants and in its oversight of what universities may do in relation to their grants, there can be no doubt that it has significant impact upon institutional autonomy. For example, in relation to proposed new developments, it has taken up positions which state what universities may and may not do in embarking upon academic projects which are costly, such as the setting up of new medical or veterinary schools. The Commission is concerned to control and rationalize activities which may involve what it regards as unnecessary duplication, or triplication or multiplication in the teaching programs of universities in close physical propinquity to one another. Sometimes these constraints may become irritating and pettifogging, but, for the most part, they are not.

In the field of capital construction it operates most obviously through the prescription of standards and through

the oversight of building programs to assure their conformity to prescribed standards. All of this obviously has an impact on institutional autonomy. The extent of its impact upon the heart of academic freedom—which institutional autonomy serves to safeguard—is the critical question. The real issue is not whether there will be interference by the state, but rather, whether the inevitable interference will be confined to the proper topics and expressed through a suitable and sensitive mechanism. That mechanism, that measure, I believe, is part of our agenda; it is to bay at the moon at this time to complain of the existence of such regulatory bodies or agencies which make recommendations for the provision of funds for universities. It is futile to argue that no such constraints should exist and that institutional autonomy should be perfect and complete—that proposition does not make sense in this world—and the focus of attention must surely be on the character of the state constituted bodies (where the state is the funding body) which make decisions which have an inevitable impact on institutional autonomy and also on the understanding of such bodies of those matters which lie at the heart of academic freedom.

In his OECD address, Martin Trow noted the tendency for relations between government and higher education to become increasingly more formal and to reflect greater differences between parties. These activities are carried out, he says, by people who do not always share the same values and unspoken assumptions regarding the nature and direction of higher education as we do. In such conditions the state is more likely to assert its conception of the public interest in postsecondary education. This highlights the practical importance of concern with the *character* of the machinery which the state employs to advise it or to make decisions on matters which bear critically upon the institutional autonomy of the university, particularly when those decisions may have an important impact upon the heart of academic freedom. It highlights the importance of building up, as far as possible, relationships of intimacy, understanding, and confidence

between such agencies and machinery and the universities and other institutions.

The present machinery in Australia (where central and state governments at present share responsibility for finance in the case of the state universities and other major institutions of higher education) is such that there is imperfect coordination between the major sectors of higher education (that is to say the universities and the Colleges of Advanced Education), and this can be productive of unsatisfactory systemic development and may, not least for that reason, in the not too distant long run, have a serious impact on institutional autonomy. Almost ten years ago a major committee in Australia recommended the setting up of a single advisory committee in the form of a tertiary educational commission to cover the whole field, and, in the long run, in a diverse and complex system of popular or mass high education, the lack of such an authority may lead to a situation which does not make for coherence or for rational planning. If, and it may be the case in Australia, the federal government does assume by agreement exclusive responsibility for financing the tertiary sector, I believe that it is likely that it will favor such a single authority—and while acknowledging the rational force of such a step, I fear that there is a formidable prospect for the institution of tertiary education confronting a single comprehensive state authority covering the whole tertiary field.

To answer the questions then: has the doctrine of university autonomy lost some of its force, the answer is simply that in the developing pattern of postsecondary education it would be impossible to maintain it in any form of pristine purity it may have been thought to possess. I do not know what it was like in Eden and I am not likely to know what it is like in heaven, and it is a footling exercise to speculate. Nothing is more calculated to obscure public understanding and to increase the difficulty of assuring support than insistent absolutist assertions about autonomy,

though it is always necessary to fight the good fights hard and with the sternest resolve. One can never be sure that the powerful ideas of institutional autonomy and institutional accountability will always be constructively reconciled. I have endeavored to suggest, in necessarily general terms, the instrumental line: the creation of machinery which comprehends all the main elements in the postsecondary educational system and one—or it may be more than one—which is sympathetic, expert and flexible. All of this obviously calls for a great deal of hard work and cooperative effort, as between state agencies and those who are responsible for the management, the control and direction of the institutions of higher education. I do not think I need answer the question here of the importance of the reconciliation to the continued support of higher education beyond reciting a lawyer's adage: *res ipsa loquitur*, the thing speaks for itself.

I would like, in conclusion, to add only a few words of Clark Kerr in an essay on *Governance and Functions* a few years back. What he said was this: "The public campus in disarray internally is particularly open to further intrusions from the state and federal government." Internal harmony is the price of autonomy, and, as he put it, "this price is not now being paid." That was published in 1970. To this, I add a more recent footnote drawn from the Carnegie Report on *Governance of Higher Education*: there is a greater and more intimate public interest now in how the campus conducts itself. It is more involved in local and in national political affairs. It is more the source of controversial lifestyles. And fewer people are willing to leave it to its own devices. As a consequence, public authority is more aggressively exercised over higher education.[2] I would also note the next point

made in the same report: that there is a general reduction in the acceptance of authority and this, in turn, is reflected in the life and style of the campus itself. This generates tensions, and this may have a very real impact in the short term and in the longer term on institutional autonomy.

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[2] The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Governance of Higher Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, April 1973, p. 9.

University Autonomy, Accountability and Planning

Alex Kwapong

I propose to deal with this subject broadly, by answering a series of questions: Why autonomy? How autonomy? And how is it related to the question of accountability and planning? I shall emphasize the higher education-government relationship and, particularly, the question of higher education as it relates to politics.

Some preliminary points are in order:

a) I shall do my best to deal with the subject on a general and nonparochial basis, although I shall have, inevitably, to draw mainly upon my African and, more specifically, on my Ghanaian experience.

b) I believe I am justified in so proceeding because the issue of autonomy and accountability is a particularly live issue in the developing countries. Nor is it a dead issue either in the developed countries, even though here the question of academic autonomy and freedom has lost some of its force. It is more or less part of the system now and while there are

variations about emphasis and style, I think, in all respects the basic thrust is clearly acceptable.

c) Autonomy is a very live issue in the developing countries for a number of important reasons.

First, most of the universities in these countries are public institutions (I would say about 100 percent are public institutions) created on public initiative and, as a result of public policy, are charged with urgent public national responsibilities. All this is clearly comprehended under the general term "national development." A great deal of excitement and expectation is attached to the foundation and establishment of these universities. The main tasks which they are called upon to deal with are problems of national development. This implies nothing short of the total transformation and modernization of these countries, through the development of the physical, the economic, the social and cultural resources.

Second, to most people the universities are conceived of as instruments of national development, and they must, therefore, ensure that all that they do is conducive to this end of its promotion of development. Their curriculum and output should be consonant with the economic situation and with the employment opportunities and should be relevant to the national needs of the country. The training of adequate and high-level manpower for the national economy is perhaps the most urgent and lively issue everywhere, but more so in the less developed countries. To most people, therefore, and not least of all to the student, the production of high-level manpower which is suitably trained to cope with the particular needs of the particular country is probably the most important function that the universities are called upon to discharge.

Third, these universities, as sources of the strategic and relevant research needed to promote development, and as the source for the long-term, fundamental research which has its impact later on, are not expected to remain in isolation but to provide service to their communities and to society. This service is to be given through their teaching, through their learning, and, of course, not least, through their transmission of social and cultural values.

Fourth, the universities in the developing countries are all very expensive to establish and to maintain. And, I think it is important to go a little further into this point: special costs are needed for the establishment and the maintenance and the running of the universities in the developing countries. This is very often not appreciated by the visiting firemen from the World Bank and others who come to give us advice on how to organize matters. In order to establish a university in a developing country, it is first of all essential to establish a township or a little city, because the infrastructure (roads, water, electricity, housing, etc.) does not exist. All these facilities are essential, particularly housing. Apart from the relative high cost of providing for these basic physical facilities which enable a university to be established, the laboratories to be built, the dormitories to be constructed, there is also the higher cost of the training of the staff or faculty for the university.

The absence of highly trained manpower in the country usually means that, at the initial stages, the universities in these countries have to develop their own staff and at this stage have to rely upon expatriate-trained personnel who are much more expensive to recruit and to keep. In the initial stages, of course, it is essential for the universities to rely more and more upon the training elsewhere of their own graduates who have come out of these institutions so as to

give them the advanced training which is *not available* in their own countries.

So because of the absence of the infrastructure and facilities for living—which need to be provided before academic activities can proceed—and because of the higher cost of staff development, of the recruitment of foreign staff, and of the training abroad of local staff, the whole process of building up and localization of these institutions becomes much more expensive. These expenses are eagerly accepted in the initial phases when the universities are expected to work miracles and to transform the country. Of course, when it is found that nowhere in any part of the world are universities panaceas or instant saviors, then the honeymoon period quickly passes away, and there is increasing impatience about the cost-effectiveness of these institutions.

This impatience is more acute, particularly in view of the fact that these countries are, on the whole, poor. In relation to the rest of the economy on which national resources are to be expended, universities are considered much too expensive. They are thought to be much too expensive relative to the general economy, and particularly so relative to the other sectors of the educational system—the primary base and secondary sector. At this stage, the middle level of the educational system is usually found to be the area which is more important for the promotion of development than the higher educational sector. It is a fact that one may have in a developing country all the engineers one wants, but if the subprofessional technicians who really do the work are not available, the process of development is at a standstill.

For all these reasons, the matter of the costs and, accordingly, of the effectiveness of these institutions and the benefits that these costs bring all become matters of public concern.

Special Problems of New Universities

An important and especially characteristic feature of all universities in the developing countries is that they are all new and young. This, as you know, is an advantage; it enables you to get rid of outmoded, frustrating traditions (and here I can see the point of view of the older countries). But there is the other side of the coin in the fact that these new institutions have to work their passage and thus they are without the legitimacy and authenticity born of long performance and traditional acceptance. This is an important factor. The lack of legitimacy of the new institutions means that factors which are taken for granted in older places are called into question. This is even more complicated when, as I have said, inevitably in the early stages, these young institutions have to rely mainly upon foreigners and foreign institutions for their advanced manpower needs and for some of their material resources. So the issue of newness and authenticity versus alienness and colonialist or neocolonialist influence, is another of the basic problems which tend to generate possible tensions between the university institutions and the community. How far then, the question is asked, are these institutions bequeathed (usually in the last stages of their rule by colonial governments) to the new nationalistic governments? How far are these semi-alien institutions really relevant and adapted to the urgent practical needs of national development? And how far do they deserve the prestige and indulgence which long traditions in excellence and performance confer upon other counterparts in the developed countries, the distinguished and famous institutions with which these new institutions in the developing countries seek to establish ties or parity and friendship? How well indeed do all these new "ivory towers" serve the needs of these countries which have to overcome the problems of industrial development in an age of postindustrial society? So, in fact, these young institutions in the developing countries face two problems: to do the normal things which the average

university does in a developed country on the one hand, and, on the other, to do the abnormal things which universities in a developing society are called upon to perform. Obviously, what is expected of these universities is much greater.

University Autonomy in Developed Countries

Now these considerations which I have mentioned, even though they apply with special force to the developing countries, apply in some measure, *mutatis mutandis*, to the developed countries. I think they are particularly applicable to the socialist countries. Yet, there are, of course, important exceptions to this situation in the developed countries, especially if we turn to the United States which is after all (I won't call it the *summum bonum*), the country which among the developed countries reached a peak of the best as well as, perhaps, not the best in higher education. There is the very important private sector of universities in the United States and Europe which exists outside the public government structure and which relies on private endowment and resources and is therefore able, though with increasing difficulty, to maintain not only a financial but also an institutional autonomy. Obviously these are the exceptions, as we are told, and everybody today is moving into the public sector by force of circumstances. But it is essential to remember that despite this trend, the existence of these highly prestigious private institutions in the total system of the developed countries has an impact on the traditions and intellectual and academic atmosphere of their countries which cannot be neglected. Not only do these old and prestigious institutions exercise this push or pull toward autonomy and academic freedom, but so do the great public institutions that have been modeled upon and have developed more or less as public versions of these private institutions. These distinguished universities and the newer public institutions in the advanced countries have all grown up within a

common tradition of intellectual liberties and, hence, basically, of academic and institutional autonomy. And these liberties and autonomies have been institutionalized not only by long tradition but also by actual performance. So that when you have, for instance, the President of the University of California dismissed by politicians of that state, there is a tremendous upheaval, not only within the State of California, but as I gathered, in the whole system of higher education in the United States. And this enables the system, more or less, to hold together and to carry on and to maintain its basic structures.

Universities in countries like the United States, Europe and so on differ from those in the developing countries in one important particular: this is the fact that they are not the sole and certainly not the main vehicle for national development or for the training of high-level manpower in these advanced countries. There are other institutions outside the universities—technical institutions for example—which also promote the transmission of values and the processes of socialization, which are burdens placed mainly upon universities in the developing countries. There are other institutions established by industry. There is the very powerful role played by the media of communication, the press, particularly the magazines which are sustained by coteries of intellectuals, most of whom are university personnel. And especially there is the medium of television which is run basically by people with the same intellectual capacities who are able to cope with these problems and thereby supplement what goes on inside the universities. These men contribute powerfully to the transmission of values. This latter function is probably the principal and main function of universities in the developing countries. It has been important and necessary to provide this background in order to see clearly the question of autonomy and accountability within the appropriate context of national development.

I then proceed to ask: Why autonomy? I will assume that we all mean the same thing by that word, autonomy: that is, a condition or state which is not an end in itself but a means to an end, a means which through tested empirical processes over time and distance has been found to be the necessary condition, the *sine qua non*, for the effective functioning and growth and work of universities. Now autonomy is of course not the same thing as academic freedom, which basically embraces the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn and the disinterested and unfettered pursuit and advancement of truth and knowledge. (All presidents of universities sing this particular song, as well, on Commencement Days.) And I accept as an axiom that a university which is but a mere tool of government, and a mere department of government, ceases to be a university as the term is accepted and understood. A university must not only serve, but must also challenge through critical and independent thought the orthodoxies of the moment—dissent from today's orthodoxy being a necessary feature of academic integrity; it is this that ensures that a university earns its keep and deserves its title of the name *universitas*. Hence, the need for the necessary element of self-management—in the determination of its curriculum, the appointment of its staff, the management of its teaching and research—which is a *sine qua non* for the essential end of academic excellence and success.

But if it is accepted by all that the end to be achieved is academic excellence, there is not the same degree of unanimity as to the means and the modalities whereby this end is to be attained. In poor, rapidly changing developing countries, with political, academic and social life in a flux and the urgent need to modernize and ameliorate all aspects of life, the issues of accountability, relevance, cost-effectiveness and efficiency become more and more prominent. And the principal problem confronting the universities within these less developed countries is how to reconcile autonomy with accountability, and academic freedom with relevance and responsibility. Therein lies the challenge.

The Rise of Educational Systems

James A. Perkins

It may be useful to look at the evolution of educational systems in relation to the forces that have created them. In doing so perhaps two purposes will be served. The first purpose is to present the causal connections between some of the basic forces that shape both our institutions and our destiny. The second and collateral purpose is to show that educational systems are no abstract invention of power-hungry bureaucrats but rather important consequences of social drives against which the success or failure of these systems must be measured.

1) Everyone has his own list of fundamental forces that shape our evolution. At least three are important: (a) *industrialization* based on an ever-growing science and technology; (b) *egalitarianism* based on notions of democracy and rights of man everywhere; and (c) *secular materialism* based on increasing belief that man must produce his own heaven and can produce his own hell.

2) These three forces, working independently and in a

reinforcing cycle, have fueled the rising requirements for trained manpower and a revolution in rising demands for access to education. Industrial societies require a spectrum of high skills as well as broadly educated leaders. Democratic egalitarianism works toward educational opportunity irrespective of class, race or economic circumstance. And secularism puts pressure on material rewards for the here and now—rewards believed to be available to the educated man only.

3) Increased social demand for graduates in nontraditional sectors of working life as well as traditional sectors and increased individual demand for access among new, previously excluded social classes (low income and women) have brought to higher education an increasing diversity of students with different talents, ambitions and educational requirements.

4) Consequently, curricula based on the assumption of a reasonably homogeneous elite have come under severe pressure. Curricula are no longer relevant to the technical requirements nor are they compatible with students' expectations. Traditional and even current doctrines of liberal and general education are, as a result, subjected to a torque to which they find it difficult to respond. The drive toward professionalism leads to increased curricula specialization at one end and the pressure toward vocationalism leads to the introduction of new curricula at the other. Both have changed the environment for proper courses of study. Curricula with a single purpose and simple design cannot embrace the differentiated needs and specialized aspirations of educational systems that have moved from elite to mass stages of development.

5) Diversity of student aspirations and of educational programs requires a diversity of institutions. Just as the liberal arts curriculum gave way to a curriculum that embraces professional and vocational subjects, just so did the

four-year liberal arts college give way to the multiversity, the two-year college as well as the technical institute, the correspondence school, and eventually the open university and the TV college.

6) While differentiation has grown unplanned it may take an increased amount of planning. Academic institutions tend to become more like each other in a game of follow-the-leader. To prevent an unwise homogenization, central planning and central coordination become necessary.

7) A summary and reflection point. It must be kept in mind that necessary differentiation and necessary coordination are not ends in themselves. They are just the organizational responses to society's demand that education be organized so as to reflect the different aspirations of students and the increasingly differentiated manpower requirements of a democratic and industrial society.

The same powerful forces identified under our first point produce another force for consideration—namely the demand that all the varied parts and institutions of higher education should collectively support the variety of public interests in educational development. This overall public interest can rarely be achieved by the unguided decisions of individual institutions. This matter becomes critical as education secures a larger and larger share of the GNP. These considerations lead to the next point.

8) As a system expands, public support increases over private support and central government support increases over local support. Simultaneously, differentiation is accompanied by a higher proportion of GNP being allocated to higher education. Both tendencies increase the prospects for system evolution and underline the prospects for coordinated management.

9) These two tendencies are point eight. Point nine is the accumulation of tasks and functions that are the history of all coordinating systems. While system planning varies in style and content, all sooner or later deal with the problems of total expenditure, budget allocations between institutions, duplication of activities, unit costs for identical functions, quality versus quantity of performance, institutional autonomy versus public accountability and others. But none of this can be accomplished without organization and people—probably new organizations and specially trained people. If system planning is point nine, then organization and personnel are points ten through fifteen.

10) Organizations have a variety of relationship problems. The first of these, point ten, involves relations between the coordinating body and the institutions it coordinates. There are a number of points of abrasion that need careful study and handling. Some of these are:

(a) Budget control by lump sum or line item. The tendency is from the first to the second.

(b) Management by committees made up of institutional personnel versus professional full-time staff. Strain is eased by the former but efficiency is promoted by the latter. The tendency, once again, is from the first to the second. Since the head of an institution must, therefore, increasingly deal with junior experts, the condition for difficulty is surely present. It would seem to follow that the greater the concern for efficiency the greater the prospects for serious abrasion.

(c) The wisdom (or necessity) of providing guidance as to requests—both with respect to how much and what for. Should the coordinator determine in advance what requests he should receive? If so, where does university autonomy or initiative fit in? Or does it? This is a more general problem familiar to the budget office of large-scale organizations.

(d) The problem of policy making with administrative responsibility for consequences. It is an old maxim that policy and operations are separate functions but cannot be disconnected. But just this danger is built into the relation of coordinator and coordinated. It is not healthy for either party.

11) The second of the organizational problems, point eleven, has to do with the relations between the institutions that are coordinated. Institutions sometimes confuse autonomy with supremacy or at least with superiority. Rivalry fueled by ambition results and the system groans. Some institutions are more politically oriented (the two-year colleges) while the universities are embedded in a tradition of political neutrality. Some are the creatures of lively and powerful political interests—they are likely to thrive at the expense of those preoccupied primarily with more abstract or nonutilitarian studies. The very differentiations that lead to the necessity of systems provide many occasions for intra-system rivalry and strife.

12) But since internal rivalry is frequently muted in the face of outside danger, just so institutions are inclined to bury their differences in the face of coordinators and planners—be they private or public. Consequently, presidents, rectors, and vice-chancellors have banded together into the Association of American Universities, the West Deutsche Rektors Konferenz and the University Grants Committee. Similar developments are in the wind in other countries in response to the same external pressure.

The actual power of these bodies is limited by the fact that the presidents, *et al*, are not able to commit their institutions. They are not even instructed delegates. Furthermore, and more important, their organizations do not control the purse. In these circumstances their influence is likely to be peripheral and real power will reside in official coordinating bodies.

13) Finally, some matters that require coordination between institutions are handled by third parties created and designed to perform special functions. In Germany the Wissenschaftsrat is an independent body that submits plans and recommendations but does not execute them. In the United States the Educational Testing Service and the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association provide system-wide services but are not controlled by systems managers. It may be that this style of coordination has a substantial future.

14) Point fourteen has to do with relations between the coordinating body and government. The purposes and styles of these relations vary greatly. In some countries (and in some states in the United States), the relation is simply one of agency. In others it is that of buffer (Great Britain). And in others, it is of overall planner (New York State Regents). In still others it is more bridge than buffer. Each style and purpose produces its own organization, procedures and personnel.

15) Which leads to point fifteen – the composition of the coordinating agency. When the institution is an agent of the state, the members are more likely to be politicians or at least politically oriented. Where it is an academic buffer, it will include a majority of professors. Where it is to be a bridge it will include representatives of the interested public who can keep a foot in both camps.

16) And finally we come to point sixteen – which is more a reminder of the obvious. This is a sequential point that does not flow from any of those already listed. A great deal of coordination does not take place through established institutions at all. Professional groups and societies develop their own plans which sometimes bypass institution decision-makers at all levels. The development of science and scientific research can be explained and understood in no other way. Will institutional coordination become more and more a

form, while the substance of coordination takes place among professional groups that run right across institutional as well as political boundaries?

I would like to conclude by pointing out that I have identified certain problems with the evolution of systems, and I would just like to summarize them.

First, there is the problem of how to balance central-making policy in a coordinating institution with decentralization of administration of that policy to the institutions that make up the system.

Second, how is a balance between the political responsibility of the coordinating body with that of academic independence and integrity to be acquired?

Third, how can this coordinating system maintain the ufferences, the necessary differences, between institutions and curricula when local ambitions are toward identity with the leaders? How can homogenization be avoided?

Fourth, how can the potential administration (the administration, to use a kind word; bureaucracy, a less kind word) of the coordinating system, be employed, trained, handled, guided, so as to reduce the rising abrasion between the staffs of these bodies and the institutional managers?

Fifth, how do we deal with the rise of functional and professional bases of coordination and of finding its proper relationship to the institutional basis for coordination?

And finally, and of course, most important of all, how can this whole system and the management thereof, make sure that at any particular stage (be it at the stage of elite education or mass or universal) there is proper interconnection and a reinforcing interconnection between the great givens of any system: purpose, access, curricula, structure,

governance, social control and finance. All of these parts of any system must be kept in balance with each other. You cannot have a purpose of universal access or universal education with a restricted system of access. You cannot have an open university, as in the case of The City University of New York City, without recognizing that inevitably it requires a different kind of curriculum than one that is highly restricted, and so forth. Coordination at this stage of growth is both internal and external, balancing between these systems, and that is where our institutional requirements are paramount. Those purposes must be maintained in coordination among institutions where you wish the total system to respond adequately to the needs of society.

Systems of Higher Education

Ernest L. Boyer

The assigned topic is "Systems of Higher Education"—why they have developed and the impact they have had on university goals and traditions. In order to make my own position clear at the outset, I wish to suggest that I do consider these new organizational arrangements—these "systems"—to be not only inevitable but in many ways desirable.

The argument of inevitability goes like this: In earlier days, when our students were fewer and younger, when transportation was difficult, when books were scarce, when teachers were few, when communication was face to face, when budgets were small—in those simpler, elitist days of education, it was possible for a network of loosely scattered and separately governed colleges and universities to do a job of sorts. With increases in mobility, forms of communication, numbers of students to be served, the faculty and staff needed, and the complexity of the curriculum, and with the enormous increase in resources which parallel all these changes, it now seems perfectly clear that the earlier,

informal, almost isolationist strategy will no longer do. The thesis then is simply this: New organizational arrangements are needed to fulfill the new educational commitments we have made. I consider it wasteful, if not downright self-deluding, to applaud, on the one hand, the move toward mass education, while romanticizing, on the other hand, about outdated institutional design. The more realistic endeavor is to recognize the need for better organization and then to talk about the kinds of structures we need to do the job.

Having spoken rather straightforwardly about the inevitability of some form of inter-institutional structure, I shall now move on to speak more irreverently about the virtues of the emerging systems. Specifically, I wish to propose five statements in defense of the systems.

Institutional Diversity

First, a system of higher education can achieve greater diversity among postsecondary institutions. It is the conventional wisdom that it is *absence* of coordination and lack of planning that will guarantee diversity. However, it seems clear to me that the only thing isolated action guarantees is randomness, which may or may not mean diversity.

Indeed, past experience suggests that, left to their own devices, colleges and universities will move toward uniformity, not diversity. In the great pecking order of higher institutions, each college seeks to imitate some prestigious sister institution just above it. And while geography or tradition or limited resources may impose differences, the great thrust is toward conformity.

In contrast, in the systemwide approach to higher education, it is possible to talk with greater clarity, rationality, and precision about different missions and a division of labor among campuses, and it is possible to allocate resources to

support these separate missions.

Here I digress to present, not as a model, but as an illustration of ongoing efforts, a few of the objectives we have in the State University of New York. They are goals still to be fully achieved, you will understand. We are seeking to achieve, under a single institutional board of control, a network of institutions that have discrete missions, and that, hopefully, will offer a spectrum of educational opportunity as broad as the interests of the students they serve.

Beginning with student needs that have been expanded to endless diversity, our task has been to conceive first of an educational spectrum and then of the levels within that spectrum. As we expanded to universal access, we have had to create precollege educational opportunity centers, of which there are six in the State. These are urban centers whose explicit mission is to provide transition and remedial work. They offer both precollege preparation and up to one semester or one year of collegiate study in the process. Next, there is a network of 38 community colleges that are rooted in all population centers throughout the State. There are 6 agricultural and technical colleges, offering associate degrees, located in separate geographical regions. Then there are 14 liberal arts colleges, 4 university centers that offer research and study through the doctorate, and the medical and professional schools. In all, there are 72 institutions.

In our most recent Master Plan of 1972, we were more explicit as to mission differentiation than the University has been at any previous time. In fact, there was a great and growing internal urgency that we be much more explicit. Because of our talk of openness and our moves toward universal access, some of the university centers in particular were beginning to ask: Are all institutions expected to assume all missions? Under the pressure of internal anxiety growing out of the push toward universal access, we did try in the Master Plan to be more explicit and quite open in our

defense of differentiated missions.

It is understood that, as this differentiation is translated into budgetary decisions, there are different funding formulas for the different missions. However, this does not necessarily mean that those activities at the higher levels of the spectrum are the ones that in all instances are the most richly funded. In fact, interestingly enough, the precollege effort in certain programs is more richly funded than are certain other levels. So it is not quite correct to assume that the pecking order of level assures increased richness of fiscal support.

A related point, which I think is essential, is the effort to refine still further the differentiation of mission within the various levels. Among the four-year colleges, for example, we do not think that, because one college is a four-year college, it is necessarily cookie-cutter in its purpose and thrust with every other four-year college. We recognize and encourage specialized institutional functions within that level to provide uniqueness and draw on some of the historic and current talents of each institution. Thus, to cite just one example, we have a new four-year college at Purchase that clearly seeks to prepare professionals in the arts. It is budgeted in a unique way to achieve that mission which is not duplicated on other campuses.

There is an inevitable aspiration among institutions with similar missions to break into a new category. Thus, a community college seeks in style and manner to become a four-year college. But during the past two years, I have observed virtually no request, formal or informal, among our four-year colleges to make a transition into something called a university center. On the other hand, when I first went to New York in the mid-sixties, it was almost a weekly occurrence to hear the rumor that one college or another was really angling to become a university center in its region.

I am not sure what that silence means. It may simply be a lull before the storm, or it may be a willingness to function within a greater clarification of missions, or it may reflect a bit of the public backlash against the so-called university role. Although it may be only temporary, nonetheless it seems significant to mention that for some months, even years, we have not found any organized institutional effort in master plans or even in hidden agendas to move toward an entirely different mission.

My first assertion, then, is that a system of higher education can achieve greater diversity among postsecondary institutions than isolationist policies which seem only to guarantee randomness.

Institutional Accountability

In the second place, a system of higher education can assure greater accountability. There will probably be less debate on this point. Nationally, the move toward mass higher education has also been accompanied by a demand for more accountability, one of the two or three recurring themes of this conference. Here, too, system coordination is essential. There is clear need to avoid wasteful duplication, although that does not mean reducing all programs to a single location. I think there is a clear difference between these two matters and would not want us to confuse them. It is sometimes possible to have multiplicity of programs and defend them as not being wastefully duplicative. This is a value judgment; it needs to be considered very carefully.

In our State, at least, it is interesting to note that the push for systemwide planning and the avoidance of wasteful duplication, especially at the graduate and professional levels, has come from the faculty and not just from forces outside the institution. The fact is that during the mid-sixties, there was rather substantial proliferation of programs, especially at

the Master's level, representing, one surmises, at least some lack of planning. The assumption was that all baccalaureate programs would have their own upper level of Master's program support. But during a period of scarce resources, it is the faculty who quite rightly want to avoid thoughtless duplication, which, as they perceive it, would lead to a kind of anemia in all graduate programs, and would tend to erode the so-called peaks of excellence. Their question, then, repeatedly has been: What is the system going to do about a blandness in graduate work, and how can we reassert the issue of more rational planning that would give greater credibility to the so-called peaks of excellence? That is an internal motivation, which we confront rather frequently, and it is an example of systemwide achievement of greater accountability.

Further, higher education is more accountable as it develops appropriate data and presents them systemwide. Such an approach helps to avoid dependencies on forces in the political arena which sometimes wish to use different formulas for different institutions or to play off one institution against the other. The only way I know to avoid an inclination on the part of those who would deal with us less generously than we would like is to present a systemwide, uniformly established set of judgments regarding our funding arrangements, and to explain and defend the differences in formulas on the basis of differences in need.

This leads to a point made on an earlier occasion. I do not believe that institutional autonomy should be confused with fiscal or procedural ambiguity. Indeed, it is my conviction that the funding agencies have every right to know the bases of our resource allocation. If there are areas or programs which cannot or should not be translated into formulas, that too should be explained and aggressively defended systemwide. This is an important caveat. I am not suggesting that, in committing ourselves to openness of reporting and full clarification of resource allocation, it is necessary to translate

all fiscal arrangements into formulas. There might be areas that we contend stand above that fine tuning, but our task, then, is to make our defense on the basis of that conclusion.

The point is that open and honest reporting is essential, and such accountability, carried on systemwide by the University, provides its own best defense. Accountability, then, is a by-product of more rational planning, formula design and defense. It is not an end to be pursued in itself.

Institutional Autonomy

The third statement follows from the last. A system of higher education is best equipped to assure institutional autonomy. To say it another way, there is strength in unity, and clusters of coordinated institutions can defend their traditions and goals better than isolated campuses which stand alone. This is especially true today when there seems to be a mood among the executive and political branches in some states to push toward greater and greater specificity of program.

The most frequent charge leveled against a system of higher education is that, while it may protect a campus from the politicians from without, it does not protect the campus from the bureaucrats from within. I concede there is a problem here. Some central office bureaucrats are fascinated by their own formulas. I do not see it as an issue that is related to the complexity of systems we have just described. The problem of the small bureaucratic mind may be compounded by the size and distance of systems, but it is not necessarily created by these circumstances. The wrong attitude is the wrong attitude wherever it is found.

There is a more important matter to stress, however, when we are talking about autonomy. It has been my observation that most of the charges of control that are leveled at central offices are really the result of demands that have been made

on the system by outside agencies or committees, which the central offices, under certain circumstances, have had to pass along to the institutions within. And it is my further observation that, if the central bureaucracy were to be removed, these demands from the outside would not go away. This is often misunderstood by the campuses within large systems. Indeed, I submit that it would make the campuses still more vulnerable, because they would stand exposed to these same pressures but would not have the protection of the unity that the systemwide arrangement provides.

Therefore, to argue that the way to get rid of the irritations is to remove the system is to misunderstand exactly the origins of some of those points of irritation. As a matter of fact, one of the important functions of a system, and I must say we expend endless energy on this, is to stand as a buffer, a protection, a shield, between the separate institutions and the demands that come from the external agencies. This takes an inordinate amount of time. It is an unusual function, and a thankless one. No one knows or cares about the slings and arrows that have been deflected, but everyone knows about the obligations for accountability and reporting that do make their way through the filter. Often, then, the systemwide coordination takes the blame for these irritations, since few understand the number of protective actions that have been taken, or the basic reasonableness of a particular request. That is said with perhaps more defensiveness than is necessary, but it is a misunderstood issue that needs to be clarified more frequently than has been the case in the past.

I believe, then, that a coordinated system does provide greater autonomy to the university, not by demanding autonomy but by generating and meriting it by the quality of performance.

Educational Enrichment

The fourth assertion in defense of bureaucracy will be mentioned only briefly, because it is often the one that is lifted out and paraded with greatest enthusiasm. Simply stated, it holds that a systemwide approach can achieve greater educational richness. We are all familiar with the potentials of faculty exchanges, or the interactions in the arts, or the movement of students. In New York, we have just created a universitywide library system so that a student on one campus has access to all libraries. We are currently planning interlocking computer networks for statewide purchase and cataloging of books. I will not pursue the point, except to note that it is now more than a missionary zeal; it is becoming an operational fact. We would miss the impact of intercampus actions were we not to see the educational richness that they potentially, and in many cases, in fact, actually offer.

Experimentation and Change

The last defense of systems is to suggest that a systemwide approach to higher education can stimulate greater experimentation and educational change. Here again conventional wisdom has it that independent, isolated institutions move forward more readily under their own impetus in creative new directions and adjust promptly to new realities. My own observations suggest that quite the opposite is true. Indeed, most institutions that stand alone are insecure. They refuse to risk either their reputations or their resources, such as they are. And the movement of the isolated campus, except the most prestigious and the most confident, is always, in my judgment, toward more conservatism and not toward creative change.

On the other hand, I am convinced that an educational system can stimulate change, not suppress it. The system can

identify new goals, suggest new strategies, seek new funds, provide adequate protection to those who do wish to experiment, and—this is an interesting and important point—provide an academic umbrella that makes experimentation both legitimate and safe.

But here I must stress one point which is a kind of operational thesis of mine. I do not believe in forced experimentation. There is a great inclination to have innovators who make innovation an end in itself, who move about spreading the gospel of change in a spirit of great rigidity, and who argue and fight all day over the concept of brotherly love. One cannot be rigid about openness or absolute change, any more than one can force love. Both should be a willing expression of the mind and the heart.

It is possible for the central administrations of systems to create a climate and encourage a mood which stimulates new approaches, and, in a broad and diversified system, offers the options of engagement. In New York, our hope is that we can lay out four or five major themes of change, such as these that grow out of some of the conditions this conference has confronted, talk about particular experimental actions that flow from this context, and then allow campuses and faculties to determine which, if any, of these areas of experimentation they wish to pursue. It is a mistake to assume that all campuses would wish to opt into all areas. In fact, initially, that would be openly unhealthy.

On the other hand, as some campuses move in one direction and some in another, the result can be an occasion where nothing will be forced, but much can be learned. Thus, the issue is the strength of the system and the protection as well as the stimulation it can provide.

Three Organizational Principles

So much for the defense of bureaucracy, such as it is. I now introduce a word of caution: The prospect of achieving this Utopia, which I have touched on, depends primarily on the conditions which exist within the system itself.

I wish to submit what I would call three commandments or organizational principles, which must govern a system if it is to lead rather than translate and suppress. These principles deal with the nature of the organization, not what it can achieve. I have already examined the latter. Let me now look inward a bit, and touch a few points which are important conditions within a system if it is to be cohesive and do the job I have described.

First, if it is to work well, *a higher education system must have within itself mutual respect among the institutions*. To be more precise, there must be a sense of balance among them. This does not mean that all colleges are alike; I have just paraded diversity. It does mean that there is an understanding of, and respect for, the separate missions that have been defined, and a willingness to allow them to function with a sense of respect and integrity. It also means that no single institution within the system can so dominate the others either in size or prestige that it creates on the part of some an attitude of constant self-defense. To put it another way, there must be a feeling that each of the institutions both adds to and gains something from the system. It is a two-way street for all the institutions; the whole of the system is greater than the sum of its parts.

If that attitude does not prevail internally, among the campus leaders and the faculty and others, the system is inherently out of balance, and it is unlikely that it can function under the forced draft of budgetary and legal constraints.

Second, there must be a feedback arrangement in the system which makes it possible for the policy makers to stand accountable for what they do. I cannot stress this strongly enough. Suffice it to say that when those who lead the system can make policy decisions or administrative judgments and do not have to stand accountable to the constituent groups for them, the system is again out of balance and is a very sick structure.

Finally, in a university system, *the central authority*—and this sounds so obvious as to be embarrassing—*should be clearly defined and should be limited in function, and campus independence within the overall framework should be maximally encouraged.* In my view most systems run into trouble for two reasons: either they try to centralize too much, or they keep the division of labor ambiguous, with the result that people become neurotic very quickly, as in a maze where the electric grid keeps shifting each day. If one week the system allows decisions to flow along in one area unrestrained, and the next week some bureaucrat from the central office calls to ask why you did this, it is evident that there are no signals to guide. The result can only be frustration and anger.

I do not believe, I must say, that local control necessarily means greater wisdom. Our experience with revenue sharing should teach us a few things. On the other hand, local control does increase the sense of initiative and reduce the sense of powerlessness, and that is an important factor in any organization. The key is not more wisdom, but a greater sense of initiative, and I would place heavy emphasis on that distinction.

In summary, then, I believe a new kind of organization is emerging in higher education as we take on major new obligations. I believe these new structures are not only inevitable, they are desirable. They are desirable because they can lead to greater diversity, greater accountability, greater

autonomy, greater educational richness, greater experimentation. To achieve these noble goals, we need systems that are well-balanced internally, provide for communication and accountability, and seek maximum local initiative within an overall design.

If we can achieve this delicate balance between structure, which is inevitable, and flexibility, which is essential, higher education still may be able to survive its own bureaucracy, and find ways to enlarge the scope of creativity, initiative, and educational service.

IV.
THE PROFESSORIATE

The Changing Status of the Western European Professoriate

Henri Janne

I shall try to present the changes that have taken place in the status and role of the professoriate in relation to the effects on the position of the university in society and public opinion.

I must be cautious because what I say will be in general true for Belgium but, possibly, mistaken for other countries. However, I think that the position of Belgium is very interesting because, in fact, Belgium is a kind of objective laboratory. It is the crossroads between the Latin part (the southern part of Europe) and the German-Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian part (the northern one). It is the historical crossroads between Catholic and Protestant Europe. It is the crossroads between the ideological socialism of the southern, Latin part and the pragmatic socialism of the northern part. The trade unions of Belgium share the high rate of membership of the northern part of Europe, but the same ideological pluralism as the southern part. So it is not out of order to take Belgium as an average prototype. In any case, I wish to affirm that what I have to say is not equally true for

all the countries of Europe and that there are, at the minimum, differences in scale and quality of the phenomena.

The first point is that the number of teachers has increased steadily in the universities, and it is a sociological law that the level of prestige tends, under these conditions, to diminish for the profession.

The second point concerns the structure of the teachers' corporation. We now have proportionately more teachers who are not owners of a chair (the traditional dons). So there is less isolation for the teacher and less power to rule the faculties and universities. The teachers who are not owners of a chair have become conscious of their identity and specific interests. I think that this is really an important fact in Western Europe because until now the younger teachers had held unquestioning respect for the teaching profession as represented by the image and the model of the dons. And this is changed. Now they translate their new sense of identity into the forming of trade unions, many kinds of associations, separate meetings in the university and so on. They tend to transform, more or less consciously, the status of the professoriate from a liberal profession to a kind of civil servant status, let us say an employee status. In Belgium, the decision to suppress what is called the "emeritat" (that is the pension fixed at the highest level of salary of the professor) is a striking fact. When you retired as an ordinary professor, you received the highest salary of your career; now the calculation for the new entrants will be the same as for a civil servant. So the pension cannot be higher than three-quarters of the highest salary.

The position of the owners of chairs is no longer one of absolute power over the careers of the other teachers and assistants who enjoy the protection of a category status. In many cases the power is shared in a collegial managing of courses and research. There are more and more professors, at all levels, with part-time status. This is very important for the

profession because this phenomenon is a kind of deprofessionalization of the teaching function (again, there is less specific prestige, less identity). The duties of the owners of chairs are now fixed by narrower regulations and there is growing control by the academic bodies. Now travel abroad for academic purposes is controlled. The same is true for the examinations function. A few years ago the professors designated their assistants and had only to say: "You give the examinations." Now there are procedures for all these kinds of things, with real control. It is difficult now for the professors, the owners of chairs, to assume external functions, political or other, outside of the university. There is more strict control over this, too.

Relationship of the Professoriate with Students

Now let us look at the relationship with the students. Obviously, it is a fact that there is no longer absolute, arbitrary power for the professors; and there is no longer unconditional respect and reverential fear in the mind of the student. This is a consequence of the loss of prestige and loss of autonomy of the professors and a consequence, too, of the new participatory status of the students in the power in the university. Students now have a status with rights. They have become aware of the weakness of the discipline structure in the university. They have discovered that they have only to say *no* together when something displeases them. In the long run, I think that all of this will be essentially good.

There are other consequences. There are no more secrets about the causes of failure of the students. Deliberations on examinations were secret in many universities. I don't know if it is general throughout Europe but it was so in France, in Belgium, and in the Netherlands, and took place only among the dons. The marks obtained in the examination were not known by the students in many of our countries and universities; but I think this was not the general situation.

Now these kinds of things have disappeared, and that is very good.

One-sided statements of the professors in their teaching are no longer possible. Now there are many new procedures, like question times, discussions, and, in a few cases, "counter courses" to which the professors are invited. That kind of confrontation is an excellent consequence; it destroys a latent dogmatism presented and taught as scientific free thinking. But the danger, in some cases, is the rise of an intellectual pressure with a perfume of political terrorism presented as true democracy.

The prestige of the teachers is now becoming personal. It is based on competence and human qualities – like openness and talent for leadership. It is no longer coming from the title and the function. A sign of this is that the use of togas in solemnities and the traditional rites are dying in the European universities. Relationships have become personal among professor and other teachers, and closer and more frequent with the students. That, too, is a good consequence.

The didactical work and time to be devoted to the students are increasing for the teachers. These are consequences, again, of the judgment exercised by the students on their teachers; it is a kind of moral pressure. But the pedagogical criterion tends to get more importance than the scientific one.

There are two psychological consequences of this new relationship with the students. The first one is that many of the old professors are traumatized, not able to change and have in a way a sad ending to their careers. But that is hidden in the bottom of their hearts. However, paradoxically, in many cases when they were able scholars and really human, the students now respect them with a kind of affectionate tolerance like for Grandpa. Secondly, many professors are submitted to a demagogical temptation: "The student is always right!" They imitate to a subtle extent the mode of

clothing and the gestural attitudes of the students and sometimes their vocabulary; this mimicry includes even political commitments; no one is more progressive than these professors. Unfortunately the students don't seem to be able to distinguish the genuine from the artificial. However, on the positive side, they reserve special respect and friendship for professors who are open-minded and ready to discuss, but who will also clearly stress their opposition to some commitments, ideologies and attitudes.

In fact, in Europe the key now to being successful in relationships with the students is authenticity. Many students feel deprived of genuine and human authority; they need guidance but they are very suspicious. This seems to be the profile of teachers and students to some extent in my university and more or less throughout all Europe. The images and the psychology of these new relationships in the university are well known in the external world and will have an impact on public opinion and public support. All of what I have been describing, which is, in my opinion, very promising for the future, is taken by ordinary citizens as a decadence, as a slowing down of the university. In spite of the fact that they are not right, there is a danger of losing public support because of this attitude.

Management of University and Teachers

Fourth, I will say a word about the "management of the university and the teachers." In the recent past, the university was in general managed by a feudal power of dons on all academic questions (including nomination of professors—it was a corporate body—and the control of the career of the younger teachers). The other parts of power, especially the financial and material life of the university, were assumed by the State or, for private institutions, by a Board of Trustees. So the *academic* life was under the feudal domination of the full professors. Of course, the second power tended to limit

the absolutism of the owners of chairs, but it did it, in fact, only by the control of resources, which limited the power to create new courses or nominate more people. However, the *creation* and the *nomination* as such were the privilege and duty of the dons.

Now there seem to be two tendencies, but they are very different in impact and scale in various countries. And I am not aware of all the positions. But I see in France, the Netherlands and Belgium (the three countries I know the best in this respect) that the university in all matters (including academics) is more and more frequently managed, at all levels, by bodies composed of delegates of teachers—teachers at all levels, not only the owners of chairs—delegates of assistant teachers and young researchers, delegates of the students (elected delegates too), and delegates of the administrative and technical personnel, what we call the "four quarters system." But the proportions are different in many cases: in Belgium, the teachers (at all levels) have, at the minimum, the parity; in the State universities, the representative share of students, young assistants and researchers is smaller than in the private universities.

The second trend is the increasing financial control of the State, sometimes by way of the veto exercised by a special commissioner in many matters. This is now becoming a general fact (including in the free universities).

The consequences are that the professors become more and more like employees (the so-called "liberal status" is progressively and steadily weakening). There is no resistance and apparently no regrets coming from the younger generations of teachers. They don't like arbitrary powers; they like an accurately fixed status and regulations. They find in this new trend an answer to their aspiration for security and equality. This search for security and equality seems to be a general characteristic of our industrial societies in their present phase of development. The main value for the old generation of

professors is individual freedom. The younger generations are more ready to accept collegial ways of teaching and to submit the contents of their courses to collegial discussion in order to make the teaching more coherent and to avoid overlapping and a lack of answers to prerequisites of some curricula. That is the positive factor of this present trend.

Now, I conclude with three personal remarks.

First, the changing status of the professoriate favors putting the university back in the City, makes the university essentially more responsive to the needs of society and enhances its role in serving the development and positive change of this society. That will be so, after the difficulties of transition have been resolved.

Second, despite the advantages of the critical opinions arising from the young generations of intellectuals now becoming teachers (the new type of teacher) there is a danger that the new kind of status (employee status) and structures (weak influence in managing) might jeopardize the academic freedom of the teachers and researchers, which is, in my opinion, a basic value to be preserved for the progress, for the real change of society and for the performance of the role of the university.

Third, the fall of prestige of the profession (by number, status, and the new flow of part-time professors, which is absolutely necessary) and the difficulties arising from the "new" youth that we have now in the universities, are dangerous for maintaining the level of quality of the university teachers. *The recruitment procedures might become less and less concerned with obtaining the first-rate personalities of all age groups.* The difficulties and the duties of the profession are still growing. That is clearly indicated by the present trend for fewer first-rate people – fewer than in my generation – to be attracted to becoming a professor of a university. In the past when you were very brilliant, you

would say, "I wish to go to the university, to become a teacher," or at least, "I wish to have a part of my life devoted to teaching in the university." That is changing now.

Will it become unavoidable to create a new kind of superuniversity with special recruitment and status for teachers and for the students? Wasn't that what practically happened smoothly, by a long evolution, in the United States? These elitist solutions call of course for heavy criticism. There are very negative statements to make about this. It is an important problem. In conclusion let me recall what a very high French civil servant said to me in 1969: "The case of the French university is desperate. There is no hope to build it up in a new shape. But let them go. We will strengthen the *Grandes Ecoles* and foster the development of a new technical high-school system."

The Prestigious Eastern European Professor

Jan Szczepanski

I would like to start with a historical remark, that most of the East European countries in the 19th century were nations without statehood, and that their national identity was based on intellectual and cultural creativity. So the intelligentsia and the university professors, even if they were professors at foreign universities (for instance, a Polish professor at a German, Austrian or Russian university) also wrote in Polish and contributed to maintaining the cultural identity of the nation. This was the principal source of the tremendous prestige of the professions and university professors, not only in Poland, but also in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and other East European countries. This gave university professors a tremendous moral and social authority which they were able to keep until recently. In the last few years, however, they have witnessed some very important changes.

The professors, because of the Polish government and because of the lack of Polish state bureaucracy, had been independent and had a feeling of moral superiority in the

face of the foreign governmental bureaucracies. They were able to retain this feeling of superiority in relation to the Polish bureaucracy in the interwar and even the postwar years. This is the second source of the high prestige of the university professors. For instance, professors of the university in Krakow, as in your own university, protested against the Pilsudski dictatorship when he put into prison the leaders of the political positions. And even after 1945 we had many acts of protest from university professors against some political acts of the Communist government.

What are the changes going on right now? In the interwar years the selection of the professors was a very long and very careful process. They were a very small group. In 1939 we had about 900 full professors in the entire country; there were about 2,400 academic teachers (assistant professors, docents and others). During the war, over 700 of them were killed in concentration camps, died in battle, were killed in the underground struggle, and so on. More than 700 left Poland and did not return. So after the war there was a great shortage of trained professors and academic teachers. But at the same time the universities and all the higher education institutions were expanded tremendously and we had a great influx of teaching staff with rather low standards. This was one factor of the change: the teachers who flocked from other professions, from the secondary schools, from the technical professions, from the technological schools, from the medical schools, were not able to keep up the very high prewar standards.

There was also a change in the social order, with stress on the ideological and political reorganization of the content of teaching coming from the political parties and from political pressures. Every revolutionary government tries to make the universities an instrument of political reorientation and political training and ideological changes in the self-perception of the society and in the social consciousness of the society. So there was also a stress on the ideological content

of teaching, especially in social sciences and humanities.

We are now witnessing changes in the university professor's career, not only in Poland but in all East European countries. There are not only the scientific careers, but there are scientific-administrative careers, scientific-organizational careers, scientific-political careers. Many people have come into the profession, not on the basis of scientific expertise and competence, but rather on the basis of organizational, administrative and political activities. However, there is still a high prestige linked with the title of professor, in spite of these changes, and a strict requirement of scientific research activity is maintained and every professor is expected to be engaged in research and to publish scientific papers.

To the classification of professors mainly concerned with teaching and with research, I could add a few more types. There are the professors concerned with organizational activities (all changes, curricula, organization of the university, and so on). Then we have another, the professor administrators – rectors, deans, and so on – who have tried to keep the post for life. We also have numerous professors who think only about their own personal careers, the professor careerists we call them. But in the public perception it is deeply rooted that the quality of the university is linked strictly with the quality of the professors. So we are giving much attention to the selection of professors and the training of future professors, the training of the research worker, the training of the scientific staff. It seems to me that in East European countries this trend is more pronounced than in Western Europe or the United States.

The Professor and the Public: The American Case

Burton R. Clark

I want to group my remarks into three areas: first about the professoriate as an occupation; then about changes in the structure of academic settings; and finally I will comment on public perceptions of the professor.

First, on the professoriate. Clearly this is an occupation that is an intellectual enterprise. It draws on bodies of knowledge, on stores of knowledge, that are rationally formulated for the most part, that are systematically accumulated, and that are more than ordinarily complex—even esoteric. Thus, with these minimal characteristics, plus some others, the occupation qualifies as a profession. We speak of it, with justification, as the academic profession. And there is public acceptance of this definition. The poll data are not at hand, but if we ask Americans to rank the academic profession against other occupations, it is sure to score high in status, above such semiprofessions as social work, nursing and secondary school teaching, perhaps on a level with law as a profession, but below medicine, our top-ranked occupation.

This profession has been, and can be, organized in at least five different ways. One is as a guild, the oldest of the organizing principles in that it comes from medieval days. The guild conception means a self-governing body of status equals (though always some will be more equal than others) and a relatively small informal community. Second, the profession is sometimes organized as largely semi-isolated hierarchies, essentially feudal hierarchies, in which the collegiality of the guild has given way to autonomous personal control of masters over groups of serfs. Third, the profession in modern times can be organized as a voluntary association in which there is a mixture of collegial principles of election of superiors and some bureaucratic organization in the form of national offices and central secretariat. Here, the basic status is still that of a professional within a voluntary association. But, fourth, the profession can also be organized as a union. Here there is still the elective principle; but there is a greater role for bureaucracy in the form of a strong permanent central staff, an accentuation of the fact that the professor is an "employee." Which brings us to a fifth form of organization of the profession, which is as employees in the formal organizations that we call colleges and universities.

Clearly, the organizational framework of the academic profession can have major outcomes for the nature of academic work and how it is perceived and defined, e.g., along the dimension of altruistic public service versus pursuit of self-interest. A few years ago, when the American public or some segments of it, left and right, were so critical of the academic profession, there were many outcries about its corruption, its self-serving propensities, its avoidance of teaching. The profession was seen as having tilted toward narrow and selfish pursuit of self-interest. Others at the time, however, saw the profession as an occupation that still ranked high in integrity and in public service. An excellent statement in this regard was made by Walter Metzger in an article, "The Academic Profession and its Public Critics,"

that was based on a talk he gave in a highly critical conference in Berkeley.[1] On one side were angry conservatives from the state saying the professors were terrible because they had allowed the students to get out of control and had run away from the students in concentrating on research. On the other side there were academic reformers talking about how bad, from other perspectives, the situation was. Metzger made a spirited defense of the altruistic nature of the American academic profession. He said that he was aware, along with others who study professionals, that professionals have acquisitive and sometimes even roguish instincts, but that professional life tends to construct barriers against letting these instincts run full tilt. He concluded by saying, "I believe that the professions are the primary means by which reserves of disciplined generosity, once provided by the agents of religion, can be mustered in a secular society, and one of the primary means (the nuclear family is another) by which persons of unequal statuses and powers can be united in bonds of trust."[2]

One can easily see the American profession in various terms, all the way from the most lofty defense of its altruism to the nastiest comments on its corruptions. The truth remains always to be empirically determined. As with all other professions, this field of work can tilt toward opposite outcomes according to the context in which it is operating. That is, it can be *structurally biased* in favor of professional integrity and discipline and generosity, or it can be structurally biased in favor of narrow self-interest.

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[1] Walter P. Metzger, "The Academic Profession and Its Public Critics," in *The Public Challenge and the Campus Response*, Boulder, Colorado: The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1971, pp. 71-87.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

It can even be biased in favor of graft and cover-up. Having had some experience with the Italian professoriate, I know that an academic profession can tilt in the direction of quite arbitrary behavior on the part of professors.

Setting of Academic Work

Now to turn to some changes in the structure of the setting of academic work. First, we have in the United States, as abroad, the great increase in absolute numbers of people in the occupational group. With this we get a partial massification of the profession. It will increasingly take on some of the characteristics of secondary school teaching; the average status of the professional will go down; much of the work will become nonelite work. Following the logic of what happened in mass secondary education, women will be more welcomed in the teaching force as the work changes in character from elite to mass.

Second, the primary organizational context of the five I have named, as a matter of long historical trend that has accelerated in the 25 years since World War II, becomes that of the large, complex organization. The professor is sited primarily in large universities and large state colleges, which in turn are located in organizationally complicated state systems, some of which are the size of small nations. One outcome of this change is growing structural tension between bureaucratic and professional modes of organizing work; between authority based on position in the bureaucracy and authority based on expertise in the professional group; between order through hierarchy and order through collegial exchange within a much flatter organization.

The third and fourth main changes I wish to identify have to do with the internal composition of the profession. One of the two primary trends in the internal make-up of the profession is toward ever greater heterogeneity in expertise.

Of all the professions, the academic one is the fractured profession, since it is basically a holding company for divergent specialists. The term "the academic profession" is, indeed, a most loose term, since it lumps together groups of sociologists, professors of English, physicists, professors of business. We have fifty or more departmental specialties on a major campus and fifteen or more professional schools. The departments and schools have important specialties within them, with proliferation following upon the ever-greater development of specialized bodies of knowledge. The field has great internal momentum to become ever more heterogeneous in its knowledge composition and its expertise.

The second feature of internal make-up is heterogeneity in the role of the professor. Sometimes the differentiation in role is latent; other times it becomes more manifest. But to offer a simple typology: we have people within this profession who only teach; others who teach much and research little—writing one book in ten years; others teach a little and research much—perhaps one book in three years; and people who research only. The differentiation of institutions is somewhat paralleled by the differentiation of roles. In the junior college we get people who only teach; in the state colleges we find people who teach mainly and research a little and so on; and then within the university family we get large cohorts of people who research only. Some of the latter are set aside in a separate status and called researchers, but others have the formal status of professor while able to operate largely as a subsidized research scholar.

These trends mean that not only do we have an increasing number of people in the field, and fundamentally different kinds of professors, but that the occupation is composed of more groups with contrary interests and contrary definitions. For example, in the interest to unionize, we find vast differences across the profession. The interest to unionize, by major institutional sectors, is strongest in the junior colleges; next strongest in the state colleges; third strongest in the

public universities; and weakest in the private sector. We don't find much of an outcry from liberal arts college professors wanting to unionize; and we know that Harvard professors do not want to do so. This particular interest, then, is primarily determined by organizational location. The bureaucratic setting, in general, is the primary structural determinant of the splitting of interest and the redefinition of interest within the profession.

Public Perceptions of the Professor

Now a few brief remarks about the relationship of the public to this fractured occupational group. Here in the United States in the early 1970s, all is in a state of confusion, so I will simply make some guesses. It seems to me that in public support and public perception and public granting of legitimacy to the professoriate, things are becoming plural. We are probably coming to a situation where we must talk about images of different publics or different types of professors. For example, when we think about the public outcry against professors a few years back—against professors who teach too little—that was not a public outcry against junior college professors. They were applauded for teaching full time, twelve to fifteen hours a week. It was not an outcry against private college teachers. It was really against one subclass within the profession, that of the university professor and, particularly, the public university professor. The arguments were sharpest at California, at Michigan, at Wisconsin, at the major public universities; and, even though it might have been a semiserious issue for a time at Princeton, Harvard, Yale, it quickly subsided in the leading private places. It is certainly not a serious issue today on the part of meaningful publics around these private places that the professors teach too little.

So the objective differentiation of the profession, which I have portrayed as a long-run trend accelerating in the

post-World War II period, is slowly and with lag producing a subjective differentiation. Certain publics in the future will be sufficiently sophisticated to grant legitimacy to certain types of professors while questioning that of others. We should expect the relationship between professors and publics to become multisided and contradictory. Part of the profession is now in a certain sense undergoing deprofessionalization. A mass teaching force will have a lower social status on the average than an elite teaching force: the unionized junior college teacher is not, in the eyes of relevant publics, going to look very different from the unionized secondary school teacher. At the same time, however, ever higher levels of esoteric knowledge in physics and other disciplines means that we will still have major components within the system that are ever more professionalized, in the sense of being privy to specialized bodies of knowledge, being able to control the gates of entry to the occupational group, control standards within it, etc. The esoteric clusters are likely to be seen still as something special and publicly granted special status.

The balance in the 1970s remains very unclear. We simply have an enormously stretched profession, one that we might consider as more mass-like in general, but which at the same time allows some elite components to become even more elite. Our elite institutions have become more selective of students, so that in 1970 many of our top places are more selective than they were in the 1930s and 1940s. So it is with the profession: a mass profession will have within it some sharply elite components. These differentiated parts of the professoriate will march to different drummers: e.g., some will be going off into unions, others will stick with their old-line professional associations; and others will prefer new hybrid forms of the professional union.

I wish to make a guess as to where our trouble points are in relations between publics and professors. I think the publics on the American scene are basically perceiving professors

now by organizational location, that is, junior college, state college, public university, private university, private liberal arts college. They are perceiving professors basically by the organizational frameworks within which the professors are located. Which means to say that they are not perceiving physicists in the junior college and the physicists in the state university as a primary unit. Organizational location is becoming the basic determinant of public perception as well as the basic determinant of professorial self-definition and interest. The number one sector in abrasiveness between the public and the professoriate is that of the public university. If the public is somewhat diminishing the legitimacy of professors, it is first of all the group that is located in the public universities, and secondly the group that is in the state colleges. The latter is the most problematic group right now in terms of definition of self-interest. The state college professors, by and large, are refusing to stand still in the division of labor among the universities, the state colleges, and the junior colleges. The junior college staffs have learned to accept the role of two-year units and do not want to do a great deal of research, have graduate students, etc. However, the state college staffs do not accept the old state college role in many of the states. They are upwardly mobile; they want to be university professors. So every year they help transform a number of state colleges into state college universities, as just happened in California this past year. They are willing to settle for the kinds of problems that university professors have, including tension over a perceived imbalance between attention to teaching and time given to other activities.

In sum, the problem of the relation of professors and publics is not found in equal severity across the profession but occurs largely in the two settings of the public university and the state college.

V.

RESEARCH ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Comparative Research on Higher Education

Torsten Husén

Research on higher education began in the United States under the label of "institutional research." Most of it was, from the outset, devoted to the pedagogical aspects of these institutions and focused on methods of teaching, size of classes, various models for student-teacher interaction.[1] Without being too critical, I think it is fair to say that most of this research did not yield very much that could guide the professors and the administrators, or even less the policy makers and planners.

But some ten years ago the student unrest and other unprecedented university phenomena gave rise to quite a lot of studies pertaining to the university as an institution and/or an aggregate of faculties, departments, institutes, centers, etc. For instance we are all familiar with the enormous amount of studies that were elicited by the Berkeley uprising in the

[1] Sanford Nevitt, *The American College*, New York: J. Wiley, 1962.

mid-Sixties. We are also familiar with studies conducted by Cartter[2] and others to assess the quality of various universities under the auspices of the American Council on Education.

The drop-out problem is an important one on both sides of the Atlantic. The fact that some 40-60 percent of those who enroll as freshmen do not graduate has inspired follow-up studies of entrance cohorts of students in, for instance, Germany, by Goldschmidt[3] at the Max-Planck Institute in Berlin, and in Sweden, by a committee set up by the University Chancellor.[4] In Sweden we are obsessed with what is called the "permeability" of the system: How many students do not complete their studies by taking a basic degree, and for what reasons?

But there is another aspect of studies of how higher education works. I am thinking of the evaluation of single universities and entire national systems in higher education. In an introductory chapter to Barbara Burn's book on *Higher Education in Nine Countries*, Clark Kerr has attempted to establish a set of criteria, which, in his view, could serve in evaluating national systems.[5] I shall limit my further presentation to a critical review of these criteria which, by implication, I hope give an answer to the question: To what extent and with what methodology is a comparative study of

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[2] Allan M. Cartter, *An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966.

[3] Dietrich Goldschmidt, "Die abgebrochene Ausbildung," in *Bildung: Die Grundlage unserer Zukunft*, edited by H. Schaefer et al., Munich, 1968.

[4] *Den akademiska undervisningen. Principbetankande avgivet av UPU*, Stockholm: Universitetskanslersambetet, 1970.

[5] Barbara B. Burn, *Higher Education in Nine Countries*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971, pp. 3-5.

systems of higher education possible? Kerr points out six "possible universal tests" of effectiveness, which he thinks for various reasons should be rejected, such as the net contribution of higher education to the GNP, the contribution of higher education to the enhancement and preservation of the "cultural heritage," its contribution to the "development of moral character." These and other criteria are rejected, as far as I can see, on the ground that they are difficult to assess; they can hardly be operationalized. Kerr also readily throws out drop-out rate as one measure of efficiency because he thinks that the determining factor of the drop-out is not the quality of education provided in an institution of higher learning but the quality of preparation in the secondary school and the admissions policy to postsecondary institutions. I do not agree. If the drop-out rate depends mainly on the quality of the secondary school and the admissions policy to universities, France and Germany would have among the worst pre-university institutions in the world, since their drop-out rate has for a long time been extremely high in spite of a highly selective and elitist upper secondary school system. On the other hand, Oxford and Cambridge, with their very low drop-out rate[6] would indicate the opposite as regards the British secondary schools and the admissions policy to the university.

Kerr also suggests another series of so-called tests – I would like to call them criteria – of efficiency in higher education. He has more hope for their applicability and, on the basis of them, he concludes his introductory chapter by ranking the nine national systems of higher education with regard to these criteria.

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[6] University Grants Committee, *Report of the Committee on University Teaching Methods* (Chairman: Sir Edward Hale), London: HMSO, 1964.

(1) His first test or criterion is the *relative quality of scholarship in international competition*. The more specific criteria that can be employed here are, for instance, the reputation that the published research from a given nation's universities has in worldwide intellectual circles and the extent to which degrees from its universities are accepted in other countries. I can see one possibility of formalizing this criterion by means of expert ratings in a way that was done in the American Council on Education study of the graduate schools at American universities.[7]

(2) The second test that Kerr advanced is the *ability of a national system of higher education to secure talent from the total population without regard to class or race*. I would like to rephrase this criterion by referring to it as the *amount of social bias* that goes into university enrollment. The methodology has been developed in the IEA study where we have developed an index of social bias in the social composition of the final grade in the academic secondary school.[8] OECD has provided some basic statistics for its member countries and, on the whole, has collected a wealth of statistics which should be used.

(3) The third test is the degree to which there is a provision of *technically trained persons* to fill the needs of agriculture, industry, government, and welfare services. One could think of various methods of developing indices which would reflect misfits or imbalances between university graduates and the needs of the economy.

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[7] Kenneth D. Roose and Charles J. Anderson, *A Rating of Graduate Programs*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970.

[8] Torsten Husén, *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics: A Comparison Between Twelve Countries*, New York: J. Wiley, 1967.

———"School Structure and Utilization of Talent," in *Essays on World Education: The Crisis of Supply and Demand*, edited by George Z. Bereday, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

(4) The fourth criterion, *to what extent liberal education is provided* to undergraduate students in an appropriate amount, seems to me to be somewhat elusive. How can we operationalize the quantity of liberal education and what measures should be used in assessing to what extent this quantity is appropriate? We could, of course, use subjective criteria in trying to poll the opinions of students, university teachers, and concerned or enlightened citizens in general. But how should these criteria be weighted?

(5) The fifth criterion is also on the muddy side because it has to do with the *quality and balances of the services* that are provided by the universities in the national system. We simply cannot establish criteria which are universally applicable.

(6) The same applies to the three last criteria which are, in turn, the *quality and balance of the constructive criticism of society*, (7) the *effectiveness of governance* of higher education, and (8) the *degree of popular support* for higher education in general and from its alumni in particular.

Thus, if we want to evaluate the quality of higher education cross-nationally, as Clark Kerr has in mind, I am afraid that we would have to limit ourselves to the first three of the tests he is suggesting. But he has left out one criterion, which seems to be rather straightforward and simple, namely to examine the attainments of the students in terms of competencies in various disciplines. I have devoted some ten years to evaluation of national systems of secondary education and am convinced it is very essential to try to evaluate the quality of education in terms of student achievement. One could examine student competence both at the entry to the university and the end of the university training in order to keep under control the influence of factors which are extraneous to the teaching, the socio-economic factors which account for a considerable part of differences between

students and also explain the major portion of the difference between developed and developing countries.

Thus, it *is* possible to devise international examinations in areas such as mathematics, science, reading comprehension and foreign languages which can be uniformly administered and used as evaluation instruments. We cannot any longer, in evaluating national systems, be satisfied with pure head-counting without taking the *quality* of the outcomes into consideration.

This provides a background for making some sweeping generalizations about the possibility of establishing a discipline called comparative study of higher education. When comparative education as a discipline became, so to speak, *Universitätsfähig* on the other side of the Atlantic, it was referred to as *Auslandspädagogik* (Germany) or education in foreign countries (England). What it produced was mainly descriptions of educational systems in other countries at a fairly general level. At best this approach provides a general idea of how it is in some other countries. But the reasons for juxtaposing more or less systematic descriptions of systems in a series of countries is to provide a basis of analysis in order to arrive at some kind of generalizations about what causes differences, i.e., to explain them. Certain features, such as admissions practice, methods of instruction, teaching load, availability of technical aids, the amount of instruction, have to be related to outcomes in terms of student achievements, of student attitudes, or social bias, or whatever criterion of outcomes we want to use. By making careful comparisons between a series of countries with different social systems and varying external conditions for the operation of single institutions or entire systems one can reach a higher level of generalization than would be possible if we study only one or a few systems. I think that such an exercise is also useful from the point of view of making us aware of how closely the outcomes of higher education, as has already been shown for

school education, are of the general framework of social and economic conditions within which the system operates.

May I, finally, make a proposal which seems to me to hold some promise both from the methodological point of view and one which can be expected to yield interesting results. What I have in mind are two types of cross-national studies. The first one should be concerned with the conditions at the university conducive to creative and innovative research. These conditions are not in the first place financial, but those providing leeway for the researchers. What features of the coordinating and administrative machinery are hampering or expediting really innovative research?

The second type of research would focus on the impact on student attainment and student attitudes of certain basic institutional and organizational factors, such as size of the university, the amount of contact, particularly of the informal tutorial kind between students and teachers, and the influence of the administration on various levels of teaching. I am aware of the elusiveness of the process one is studying here and of the factors conducive to it but it would be extremely gratifying to take advantage of the wide international variability of administrative and organizational practices in order to arrive at certain generalizations about conditions conducive to innovative research.

Suggested Future Approaches to Research on Higher Education

Burton R. Clark

There is a great deal of information around in different parts of the world relevant to the broad topic of research in higher education, but there is actually little specific research on higher education. I will proceed by first identifying some major categories of research, giving some examples in each. Then I will comment about lines of research I think should be developed in the future. So I will divide my remarks into two parts: what has been done and what ought to be done. My categories are drawn in part from a recent article in which I attempted to review the development of the sociology of higher education up to this time in history and to suggest fruitful approaches in the future.[1]

Most of the research on higher education in the United

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[1] Burton R. Clark, "Development of the Sociology of Higher Education," *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 46 (Winter), 1973, pp. 2-14.

States and elsewhere has been student-centered. Such research has had two foci. The first is a literature on the social background of students and how it affects their educational aspirations, opportunities, and achievements. Here I only need to mention the names of Torsten Husén and James Coleman as leading examples of this kind of research. In sociology, this is a concern with social stratification, social mobility through the educational system, and, above all, inequality. The root sociological concern with education to this day, in various countries, is the problem of inequality, or the relationship between the stratification system and the educational system.

The second line of student-centered research is that of *the impact of college on students*, a social-psychological concern that has, in the United States, intrigued hundreds of psychologists and sociologists. Beginning with a noted study by T. M. Newcomb in the 1940s,[2] this line of investigation was later developed at Vassar and a number of other colleges. In 1969, a comprehensive volume by Feldman and Newcomb[3] reviewed some 1500 studies that in one way or another qualified under this heading. Most of them were immensely trivial. A psychology professor would try to make a "before-and-after" measurement of the impact of his class—his particular psychology introductory class—and sociologists tried it on their classes. Time and again there were no results. But there were more major efforts to define the impact of the undergraduate years on the values, attitudes, and personalities of students, e.g. the research done in

[2] Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden, 1943.

[3] Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, *The Impact of College on Students*, Vols. 1 and 2, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970.

the Berkeley Center for Research and Development in Higher Education between 1958 and the mid-1960s.[4] Related to this focus has been the literature on student movements that has developed in the last five or six years, drawing conceptual leads from political sociology. It is an inconclusive literature, much of it written in haste by people who were deeply involved in the disturbances at Berkeley, Columbia, and other places. It went up very fast with the headlines and now seems to be coming down with a lack of headlines. The various sources of student discontent, including the campus reaction to discontent, need a great deal of continuous and comparative work.

These first two lines of research are now self-maintaining. They are institutionalized in professorial and graduate student clusters and in such large research establishments as the research division of the American Council on Education. I have my concerns about the research involved, since much of it grows ever more involuted. But we do not need to do any pump priming along these lines, since the research is built in now in what professors do.

Studies of Academic Profession

I would now like to switch to the more institutional and macro-organizational levels of analysis for our third and fourth categories of research. The third one, after the two student-centered categories, is studies of the academic profession. Here we have a literature that is just beginning to take off. We have some older studies, for example, Lazarsfeld's

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[4] Burton R. Clark, Paul Heist, T. R. McConnell, Martin Trow and George Yonge, *Students and Colleges: Interaction and Change*, Berkeley: University of California, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1972.

"The Academic Mind" and Caplow and McGee's "The Academic Marketplace," both done in the 1950s.[5] But only now is the study of the academic profession settling down into a serious enterprise, after a number of discrete volumes that extended back to Logan Wilson's work in the early 1940s.[6] Now, just in the last two or three years, we have Halsey and Trow on the British academic; Giglioli, a young Italian sociologist, doing a dissertation on the Italian academic; Walter Metzger writing historically on the American academic profession; Talcott Parsons about to publish a large study on the American scene; and Seymour Lipset and others writing on faculty unionism.[7] The amount and quality of work coming out since 1970 is superior to all the work done, in this country at least, before 1970. So clearly we have a clustering of interest that is beginning to pay some dividends, and this is being done in various countries in at least a semi-comparative way.

Organizational Studies

The fourth category is one of organizational studies, and it has several sub-branches. First, we have studies at the level of the college or university, the level of the *individual organizational unit*. Most writings here, however, have not been based

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[5] Paul F. Lazarsfeld and W. Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958.

Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, New York: Anchor Doubleday.

[6] Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1942.

[7] A. H. Halsey and Martin A. Trow, *The British Academics*, London: Faber and Faber, 1971.

on research. Rather, we have had a number of illuminating reflections by practitioners, usually university presidents or university consultants. The best includes the work by John Corson on university governance in the early '60s, a book by Harold Dodds on the presidency, and the writings of Clark Kerr and James Perkins on the presidency and the internal operation of individual colleges and universities.[8] Much of my own work has been in this area, principally in a research study of the internal operation of the open-door community college, and, at the other end of the spectrum, on the development of distinctive characteristics in leading private, liberal arts colleges.[9]

Analysis at the institutional level also includes so-called institutional research done by the individual institutions on

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Giglioli – Dissertation underway

Walter Metzger – Not yet published

Talcott Parsons and Gerald M. Platt, *The American University*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

[8] John J. Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

Harold W. Dodds, *The Academic President – Educator or Caretaker?*, Carnegie Series in American Education, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

James A. Perkins, *The University in Transition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

[9] Burton R. Clark, *The Open Door College*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

———, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore*, Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

themselves. I am confused about that literature and really do not know what it has to say that is important. It has been too trivial, too lacking in concept, too lacking in analytical drive and perspective. It is heavily descriptive of a single institution, and often published in fugitive form. Until someone does a major job of pulling together the generalizable results, we do not learn much from institutional research.

The second sub-category under organizational studies is analysis at the level of *state and national systems*. James Perkins has done much work on issues of institutional autonomy and systems coordination, along with Logan Wilson, Robert Berdahl, T. R. McConnell, and others.[10] And there are less well-known but informative studies worth calling to your attention, such as a monograph by Harland Bloland, published by The Berkeley Center, on coordination through voluntary associations in the emerging American national system.[11] Bloland tried to find out what kind of

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[10] Logan Wilson (ed.), *Emerging Patterns in American Higher Education*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1965.

Robert O. Berdahl, *British Universities and the State*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.

———, *State-Wide Planning and Coordination*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971.

T. R. McConnell, *General Patterns for American Public Higher Education*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

James A. Perkins (ed.), *Higher Education: From Autonomy to Systems*, New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1972.

[11] Harland G. Bloland, *Higher Education Associations in a Decentralized Education System*, Berkeley: University of California, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1969.

hidden lines of coordination there were in the national system in the United States, in the operation of voluntary associations in Washington, the associations that represented the disciplines and particularly those that represent the presidents and the institutions as a whole.

A third branch of organizational study is concerned with the general parameters of *change in national systems*. OECD has been a center of this interest. Martin Trow has written extensively on the transition from elite to mass higher education and its implications for the structure of national systems.[12] This literature is moving along fairly well these days, but it also has a rather thin research base. We do not have numerous research centers systematically engaged. OECD remains the best, with its developed interests in manpower, inputs and outputs of educational systems, and, recently, innovation and new forms of education.

A fourth branch of the macro-system studies is a *sociology of science* which includes higher education within its vision. The connection between science and the organization of higher education is extremely interesting. I am sure you know of the work that Joseph Ben-David has done on the emergence of scientific fields and how these fields were affected by the national structure of universities.[13] There is

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[12] Martin Trow, "The Democratization of Higher Education in America," *European Journal of Sociology* 3 (1962): 231-262.

———, "Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education," in *The Embattled University*, edited by S. Graubard and G. Ballotti, New York: Braziller, pp. 1-42, 1970.

[13] Joseph Ben-David, *The Scientist's Role in Society: A Comparative Study*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

——— and A. Sloczower, "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," *European Journal of Sociology* 3 (1962): 45-84.

an interesting group at the University of Chicago, consisting of Ben-David, Edward Shils, and Terry Clark, that now has a number of interesting studies coming out or under way. The studies give us historical depth on the emergence of disciplines and how that relates to university organization. Terry Clark's work on the emergence of the social sciences in France is just coming out from the Harvard Press.[14] Another one now under way is by Bernard Gustin on German chemistry as an emerging discipline in the early 19th century and how it developed in the university and in industry. Chemistry in Germany in the 19th century is a critical area for investigation—as a scientific field, as a university-based discipline, and as a part of German industrial strength.

I would conclude my quick review of research by saying that in comparison to the work on students, we have a very weak research base for organizational studies. Surveys indicate that not much work is being done on macro-level studies. There is an individual scholar here and there. OECD is doing a little bit on some of these problems, and the Berlin Institute is doing something, and we have a little bit around Berkeley, etc., but not very much. So we do not have the kind of research base for organizational studies that we have for the studies on students.

Future Inquiries

I would now like to mention the substantive lines of inquiry that I think we should be getting into. Everything I

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[14] Terry Clark, *Prophets and Patrons: The Emergence of the Social Sciences in France*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Bernard Gustin—Work in progress

will talk about here ought to be done comparatively and historically, as far as possible. If there is any general criticism I have of all of us who have been doing research, or have been writing books based on our personal insights about the systems, it is that we still are not doing the homework necessary to know what is available in the historical literature and even in the comparative literature. Time and again we see major reports, such as the 1971 "Newman Report" (*Report on Higher Education*),[15] that are based on a reading of the literature of the last two or three years and offer no side glances at the experiences of other countries. We have a new group looking at a problem, and they are bright and believe that not much has been done that could possibly be relevant, so they skip the homework. This amounts to a determination to repeat the errors of the past, and to repeat the errors of other societies.

On what ought to be done, I want to outline three major topics. First of all, it seems to me that the fundamental line of inquiry for any group such as this has to be on the *organizational differentiation and coordination of systems of higher education*. I would like to list some six or seven sub-categories within this major area in which so much needs to be done and in which it is so hard to do good research.

First, we clearly need a delineation of the formal structure of national systems, simply identifying the formal structure of the types of organizations that make up differentiated systems. We might call this the organizational grouping of functions. We need to know how major tasks are variously grouped in national systems as they move from elite to mass

[15] *Report on Higher Education*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

to universal higher education, each starting from a different historical context and developing within a different national social setting. We do not even know very well at this point, it seems to me, what is the real organizational grouping of functions in a number of countries, since some of the operating reality is hidden behind neat labels that the actors in systems put on their organizations.

Second, we need to know more about the downward flow of control and influence within such systems, from the top to the bottom. We need to identify the formal lines of coordination on specific functions, not global coordination of the whole system, but the formal lines of coordination from the top to the bottom, the center to the field, in specific areas of decision making. We are often led astray by the fact that in one area of decision making a system will be highly centralized, and we then assume that is true for all other areas, and that is not the case. For example, one area of decision making is the allocation of money or the setting of the general budgets of institutions, and a second is the allocation of personnel within the system. Personnel allocation is often quite differently done, in terms of decentralization, compared to financial allocation. And a third function, the determination of teaching programs, and a fourth, the determination of research programs, may run along different lines. In some lines, the professors are more dominant than they are in others.

Third, I would think we must know much more about what may be called the upward flow of influence, meaning the patterns of representation of local interest at the center, how the various interests within a differentiated system are centrally represented. Here we have formal patterns, such as membership rights on central councils and voting rights of various groups. But we also have to dig out the informal and quasi-formal patterns by which people represent themselves.

As a *fourth* topic I would name the uses of central coordination and planning, specifically around the antithesis between using coordination for enforcing uniformities as over against encouraging diversities. We certainly need to exact some uniformities for various good reasons of fairness in access, impartiality in standards of passage of students, and so on. We certainly also need to encourage diversities and we need to grant institutional autonomies and protect them. We need to develop institutional initiative at the lower levels, an enormously fascinating topic. We simply need a great deal of research, by country and by state, on how central coordination and planning is variously used. With this we need to study the various ways in which the center is organized; the ways in which we can organize central councils and ministries; and how this helps to determine the uses of coordination. The organizational forms, once in place, will develop somewhat their own momentum, their own characteristics and drives.

As a *fifth* sub-category, I want to emphasize the great need for us to understand much better than we have thus far the exercise of leadership at middle and lower levels in complicated systems. Once you have institutional autonomy, autonomy for what? The autonomy can be for institutional drift, or for institutional imitation, or for institutional distinctiveness, and leadership plays a part here. There are actors who have some impact on the system, even in these days, through taking a unit over which they have been granted some influence and doing something with it by way of distinctive style. Or they can simply imitate a sister college, or decide just to service a demand and drift according to changing external pressure. As usual, reality is probably quite complicated, involving intricate relations among officials at different levels. In state and national systems we will probably find coalitions of people at the center and at the local levels who favor mission building or work against it, who will encourage drift, or imitation, or distinctive effort.

A *sixth* sub-category, within the general topic of organizational differentiation and coordination, is the use of various ideas and doctrines in administrative behavior and the determination of the structure of systems. That is, what is happening on the symbolic side of organization? Here I include the study of purposes and missions in organizations and systems; the role of historical accounts, legends, and myths in academic systems;[16] the doctrines that support one interest as against another and give legitimacy to the interests of the professors or the interest of the board of trustees, or the interest of the administrators—in other words, help to establish the legitimacy of various units and strata. These fundamental legitimacies make such a difference in whether systems are sick or healthy, in whether conflict is followed by accommodation or a degeneration into ever-deeper strife in a situation of no respect. Moral capital can be as useful as financial capital.[17]

Finally, it would be useful to study the public understanding of differentiation and coordination in state and national systems. We need to ask whether various publics are aware of the objective realities, and, second, how these publics evaluate those realities. The public grant of acceptance to various features of perceived reality is part of the problem of legitimacy.

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[16] Burton R. Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2, June 1972, pp. 178-184.

[17] Burton R. Clark, "The Wesleyan Story: The Importance of Moral Capital," in *Academic Transformation: Seventeen Institutions Under Pressure*, edited by David Riesman and Verne Stadtman, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

In addition to this major area of research, I want to name two other lines of needed inquiry. One is the *changing nature of the academic profession*. There is much to be learned about: sheer numbers in the profession; the distribution of people within the field; the nature of differentiation in the profession around teaching, researching, and managing; the ever-greater differentiation in expertise within the academic role; the conflict in and around the profession between professional modes of organization and the bureaucratic mode. And finally there are public perceptions of the profession, and public acceptances of the profession, with resulting impact on the social status of the field.

As a last area of what ought to be done, I would name the *connection between higher education and the world of work, and how both are affected by the possible move toward recurrent education*. This area of research, seriously pursued, would get us into the needs of youth and the needs of young adults, as well as those of older adults.[18] We might think of recurrent education as possibly starting fairly early, say at the age of 14 or 16 or 18, with the introduction of alternative experiences to the educational experience. The young would begin the cycle of education, go out to other experiences, and then come back to study. It is possible that the time has come for this idea and form. If so, numerous experimental steps should be monitored.

Methodology

I have said almost nothing about methods and have been talking about substance under the guise of a discussion of

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[18] *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, report by the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

research. There are no limits on methods that we might possibly use. *The full gamut of methods available in the various social science disciplines are all possibly applicable to our interest here.* For example, we can apply all the techniques of sociology, from the survey to the case study. At the beginning, one method is no more legitimate than another; they simply give us different handles on different aspects of a problem. An "old-fashioned" case study is still probably the best way to ferret out hidden patterns of exchange in an academic oligarchy, instead of sending out a questionnaire to 500,000 students or to 5,000 junior faculty who are not party to the patterns. In other situations, we obviously need to use survey instruments and systematic interviews. To repeat: none of the methods of economics, sociology, political science, public administration, business administration should be barred. We should decide on what is the best method at the time, given the nature of the problem and the state of knowledge about the problem.

We do have certain unfulfilled needs currently in respect to mounting research. For some lines of research, the ones I mentioned that are not institutionalized yet, the nonstudent lines, we *do* need more research grouped in centers, and in networks of research centers, to promote persistence and continuity. Such grouping will not guarantee good research: we have seen a number of centers that have persisted for ten to fifteen years and have yielded little. But we do need some organization to promote persistence and continuity in the more difficult problem areas. Serious investigation of large systems requires research clusters sustained in multiples of five years.

A second major need is some *useful concepts and analytical points of view*, for which we must draw as best we can from various sub-areas of the social sciences. Perhaps the leading criticism of comparative higher education is that it is so largely descriptive, that it has no conceptual handles and no analytical bite. We have little by way of meaningful

categories by which we can make comparisons across national lines. The need is paramount to pull ideas and points of view from various social sciences.

For example, I am currently interested in the general problem of how national systems are controlled and how various major groups within the systems exert influence. I have been trying to look at a number of different literatures to find some useful ideas. There is a literature in organizational studies, for example, that has some bearing. It reports research on sets of organizations in medicine or in various institutional sectors other than education, but some ideas can be drawn from it. Even some useful elementary typologies are now available on sets of organizations that range from unitary bureaucracy through federative linkage to a situation of loosely joined organizations in which no parties control decision.[19] The latter is common on the American scene.

There is also a literature in public administration, which I used to think was dead and dull, and I now find to the contrary. That literature is somewhat comparative, looking at public administration in various countries, and it is especially helpful when one is studying higher education in countries which have long located education within the executive branch of national government.[20] There is now also a growing literature on planning, including the politics of

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[19] Roland L. Warren, "The Interorganizational Field as a Focus for Investigation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 3, December 1967, pp. 396-419.

[20] H. W. Ehrmann (ed.), *Interest Groups on Four Continents*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.

Robert C. Fried, *The Italian Prefects: A Study in Administrative Politics*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

planning, from which ideas can be drawn.[21] There are political models of coordination in the political science literature about bargaining and exchange in political arenas that are potentially useful.[22]

There are also, of course, economic models of coordination that have centered on competition and markets. But economists have to become political economists and in some sense organizational economists as they struggle to make sense of institutional forms and the relationship between governmental policy, organizational implementation, and market action.

These are just examples of lines of developed thought and bodies of ideas to which one can turn in an effort to develop useful angles of vision and specific conceptual leads in research on higher education. This is where our need is the greatest.

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[21] Guy Benveniste, *The Politics of Expertise*, Berkeley: The Glendessary Press, 1972.

_____, *Bureaucracy and National Planning*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.

[22] Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

Charles E. Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy: Decision-Making Through Mutual Adjustment*, New York: The Free Press, 1965.

Harold Seidman, *Politics, Position and Power: The Dynamics of Federal Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

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